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JOURNAL
OF CRIMINAL
PSYCHOPATHY

THE GAMBLER: A MISUNDERSTOOD NEUROTIC

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I. THE GENERAL OPINION

The popular opinion concerning gamblers boils down to the naive assumption that they want to obtain the maximum amount of money in a minimum amount of time and without hard work. The unconscious reaction of the unpsychological spectator is a mixture of admiration, if the gambler seems to win, and gloating, if he loses, gloating based on the thought, "Why should he achieve what the average person cannot?" The question of whether or not the gambler wants to win is, of course, never asked, since popular opinion regards the purpose of gambling as a rational one, though one dangerous and difficult to achieve.

Other groups sincerely object to gambling on moral, religious or social grounds.

Observation of the psychology of the gambler with the analytic microscope shows that the basic question concerns just that which seems self-evident to the naive observer—the aim of the gambler. I submit that the gambler is not simply a rational though "weak" person who wants to gain money by means of a short cut, taking the risk of failure and of moral reproach from his environment, but a *neurotic with the unconscious wish to lose*. I will substantiate that seemingly paradoxical formulation clinically.

II. SIGNS AND SYMPTOMS OF THE GAMBLER

An explanation of terminology is at first necessary. What is a gambler? What are his signs and symptoms? Six characteristics must be considered:

1. *The gambler habitually takes chances.*

Is the movie-goer who sometimes plays "Screeno" or "Bingo" by accident or chance a gambler? Is the man who risks a dollar betting that Dewey or Bennett will be elected governor of New York State a gambler? Or the reader of the *Times* who bets in a joking mood that the editorial page in the next edition will be page 16 or 24? One would doubt it. The stress rests first on the word "sometimes." The man in our example does not go to a movie every evening to play Screeno; he chooses a feature which he likes, though the fact that Screeno is offered may be for him a pleasant additional factor. The second man has a chance every four years to place his gubernatorial bet. And the *Times* reader is not in the mood every day to wager on such nonsense as the sequence of pages. The whole picture changes if, instead of "sometimes," "typically" is substituted; and if the primary objective of our movie fan is Screeno and not the feature itself, and he visits the same boring picture for the third time only because it is offered with Screeno; or if a person places his bets habitually, whenever he has a few dollars, using any opportunity, ridiculous thought it may be. The quantitative factor is indispensable for differentiation. In like manner, we don't call a person a drunkard if he takes a cocktail before dinner.

2. *The game precludes all other interests.*

A further descriptive characteristic of the pathologic gambler is that his entire interest is concentrated constantly on gambling, its "chances" and prognostications. All of his phantasies and day dreams are centered in it. That pathologic concentration overshadows everything else—vocation, love, hobbies.

3. *The gambler is full of optimism and never learns from defeat.*

The gambler is seemingly the last optimist, one who is totally uninfluenced by experience. That queer surety of success cannot be shattered, especially by financial losses. He did not win today? So what? Tomorrow will be lucky. He lost once more? Doesn't prove anything. Someday he simply must win. There is nothing more tragic than the gambler who has lost his last dollar and is still absolutely convinced that if only he had the money to overcome the string of bad luck he would "surely" win a fortune. Every gambler conveys the impression of a man who has signed a contract with Fate stipulating that persistence must be rewarded. With that imaginary contract in his pocket, he is above all objections and logical arguments.

4. *The gambler never stops when winning.*

As a result of his pathological optimism, the gambler never stops when winning, since he is convinced that he will win more and more. The result is that in the long run he always loses. He does not look at the money he has won as a result of chance but as a down payment on his contract with Fate to win permanently. This inability to stop is, by the way, an argument against the earnest assumption of all gamblers that one can get rich through gambling. One can imagine that a man may win a certain amount of money in a game of chance. Were he able to stop gambling immediately, his bank account could conceivably increase. However, in the great majority of cases, the game is continued until the gambler proves to be exactly what some people call him—a "sucker." The fact that he doesn't stop when winning is one of the reasons that gambling houses always win. One of my gambling patients visited a fashionable French gambling resort and paid a social call on the manager of the casino, to whom he had a letter of introduction. The specialist in gambling asked him whether he had visited the casino. "Of course," was the answer, "I have even won a few thousand francs." At this his host became serious and gave him the advice to leave town immediately. "If you don't, you will continue to gamble and lose everything. We make money because the gambler cannot stop when he loses and especially when he wins."

5. *Despite initial caution, the gambler eventually risks relatively too large sums.*

For the gambler, every game of chance is associated with either conscious or unconscious feeling of guilt; consequently, he uses certain mechanisms to appease his conscience. The most typical one is the small stake: "It doesn't matter if I lose that sum; I can afford it." Gradually, though, his stakes increase, with or without scruples regarding their size. At this point the pathologic optimism described above enters the picture as an excuse. The next step is that the source of the money is disregarded. The family man who bets with the money expected to feed the family is a well-known tragic figure. Nearer the abyss is the man who defrauds his clients or his employer to gamble, using the eternal excuse that he was convinced that this time he must win. Every gambler is familiar with the situation of "losing his head" and despite "good intentions" risking everything on one card—and losing. The fact that in these situations the behavior of the gambler is

unexplainable logically (it is senseless to risk everything at once) proves the decisive importance of unconscious motives in gambling.

6. *"Pleasurable-painful tension" (thrill) is experienced between the time of betting and the outcome of the game.*

The "rational" motives offered by gamblers for gambling are making money, pastime or both. Obviously, both reasons are excuses and rationalizations. Gamblers who are not too hypocritical admit freely that they are looking for the strange tension experienced in the game. The understanding of that mysterious tension is one of the pivotal factors in deciphering the psychology of gambling, and that "thrill" is impossible to understand from the descriptive plane. It is very likely not by chance that that sensation, well known to everyone who gambles, is not correctly described in either scientific literature or belles-lettres. This is because it is impossible to understand without knowledge of unconscious factors. The tension is a mixture of pleasurable and painful sensations not comparable to other known sensations. The formulation itself, "pleasurable-painful tension" (I am quoting an observing patient of mine) shows the illogical element involved. That the expectation of an event whose outcome is uncertain should be pleasurable is in itself enigmatic. Many persons do everything possible to avoid uncertainty, but uncertainty is exactly what the gambler looks for. One might rationalize by stating that the gambler expects success and is therefore in an elated mood. Even were this true, the painful element of the tension of gambling would remain unexplained. Should someone object that the painful component of the feeling arises from the uncertainty of winning, we would have a vicious circle and wonder why the gambler plays for stakes in the first place.

I repeat that the tension of gambling is logically unexplainable. It is erroneous to assume that it springs from the interim which the gambler must endure between the placing of his bet and the finish of the game. He looks forward to that interval and the accompanying tension. It is of no consequence whether he realizes it or not, whether it is conscious or unconscious.

The thrill of that "tension" is recognized by the man who wrote the best literary dramatization of a gambler, Dostojevsky, in "The Gambler." In one of his letters the famous Russian, who was himself a pathologic gambler, confesses in self-defence:

"The main point is the game itself. On my oath, it is not greed for money, despite the fact that I need money badly."

How far that "thrill" overshadows greed for money is proven by the fact that even professional card sharps are sometimes victims of it and gamble for gambling's sake and lose. That is reported, for instance, of Casanova. Another evidence of the predominance of the thrill-component was offered by a patient of mine, treated for pathologic gambling. He told of a game played with 15 matches by two persons, in which each person had the right to take in his turn one, two or three matches. The loser was the person who, because it was his turn, had to take the last match. The initiated always won if he started by taking two matches and was careful to leave an unequal number of matches each time to his opponent. This cat-and-mouse play was financially agreeable to my patient, since even an intelligent but uninitiated opponent would not learn the trick before ten or fifteen games had been played; but he told me that after some time he would become bored—"There was no thrill to it." In other words, if you take away the tension, you destroy the pleasure of gambling. The element of "insecurity," regardless of winning or losing, seems to be of prime importance and one of the prerequisites of that strange thrill.

III. THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF UNCONCIOUS AGGRESSION AND UNCONCIOUS SELF-PUNISHMENT INVOLVED IN GAMBLING.

The best approach to the *unconscious* problem of the gambler's psychology is to be found in his astonishing, logically senseless conviction that he will win. A literary example of this is provided by a passage from the diary of a victim of her husband's gambling, Mrs. Dostojevsky:

"Fedja (F. M. Dostojevsky) took eighty gulden, gambled and lost. He took once more the same sum and lost. . . He fetched the last forty gulden and promised me *unconditionally* that he would bring home my earrings and my ring which he pawned for 170 francs. He said that in a *tone of complete conviction, as if it depended only on him whether or not he would win*. Of course, that conviction did not help him and he lost that sum also." (August 22, 1867).

When we ask ourselves whether we could recall an example of

such conviction on the part of an average person in real life, we have difficulty, since such a phenomenon is to be seen only among pathologic fanatics. We have to go back to the fiction of omnipotence of the child. The child lives for a long time in a sort of megalomania (as Freud and Ferenczi have shown), knowing only one yardstick, his over-inflated Ego. His misconception of reality is fostered by the conduct of adults, who attempt automatically to fulfill his every wish concerning nourishment, sleep and attention. The child misconceives causality and sees in these wish fulfillments, not the results of kindness and love of his mother or mother representatives, but simply the result of his own omnipotence. That fiction is destroyed gradually by real experience, and its destruction is very likely the deepest disappointment of childhood. An excellent example of this megalomania of childhood is found in a passage of "Jean Christophe" by the French writer of genius, Romain Rolland. The poet describes his character as a little boy:

"He is a magician, too . . . He commands the clouds. He wants them to go more to the right. But they continue their way to the left. He scolds them and repeats his command more urgently. He observes with high pulses whether at least one little cloud obeys him. But they continue to run to the left. He stamps with his foot, menaces them with his little stick and changes his command. He now wants them to go to the left, and this time the clouds obey. He is happy and proud of his power. . . ."

The poet describes as if he had a clinical case a transitory phase: The child acknowledges that he is not an omnipotent magician any longer but wants to save through sanction post facto at least a little part of his fiction of omnipotence. It is as if someone, looking at his watch at one minute before six, should command the watch to point to six o'clock in one minute, and the watch "obeys."

How does education bring about the transition from the "pleasure principle" (Freud) to the "reality principle"? By love, persuasion and threats. The clinical fact remains that only with great difficulty is the child forced to give up that phantasy. We all still possess unconsciously the old wish of paradisiac omnipotence, even if we are very "grown-up." Further life experience convinces the child that certain facts are unchangeable. He learns that it does not pay to run

his head against the wall after trying it a few times and finding that the wall remains stationary in spite of his command from the arsenal of childlike omnipotence that it give in. Secondly, he learns to avoid in a form of protective mechanism, so to speak, certain fights with predictable defeats. He becomes smart, but he does so without enthusiasm. Deep inside the old fiction of omnipotence is buried and can, in certain circumstances, as could Homer's dead heroes in Hades when they drank blood, be resuscitated.

The power of the "reality principle" is based on the fact that by accepting it the child, and later the adult, avoids many escapable defeats. *There is, however, one exceptional situation in life in which following the "reality principle" brings not the slightest advantage compared to following the "pleasure principle;" that is gambling.* There, blind chance is dominant, chance which, in pure games of luck, cannot be influenced by logic, cleverness, and the attitude of being a "good boy." An old anecdote quoted by one of my patients illustrates this. A college student won \$10,000 betting on a "dark horse" at the races. He met his professor of mathematics, who, full of curiosity, asked him how he figured out the winner. "Very simply," was the reply, "I dreamt about the figures 2 and 3 and thought that 2×3 equaled 12; therefore I placed my money on number 12." "But 2×3 is not 12!" objected the professor. The pupil became excited. "You want to teach me how much 2×3 equals? I won!" The humor of the situation lies in the fact that the boy won using his "private," alogical system of mathematics, and in this action reduced logic to absurdity.

Gambling activates, therefore, unconsciously, the old, childish phantasy of grandeur and megalomania. More important, it activates the *latent rebellion** against logic, cleverness, moderation, morals and renunciation. That latent rebellion, based on the inwardly never-relinquished "pleasure principle," scoffs ironically at all rules of education. Heavy inner retaliation is the result. Since all educational rules

* How typical that aggression toward the childhood authority is in gamblers is described with the fine intuition of a genius by Dostoevsky in "The Gambler:"

"...In five minutes I accumulated 400 gold pieces in roulette. I should have left at that moment, but a strange feeling came over me—to challenge Fate. It was the wish to give Fate a punch in the nose and show her my tongue."

We have only to substitute for Fate the parental representation of it for the child and we have in a nutshell the psychic situation of the gambler. Priority in all discoveries goes to the poet and dreamer; science describes more precisely, using clinical proofs, and in different terms. In general, scientific discoveries are re-discoveries of truths felt intuitively by poets hundreds of years before.

are given to the child by his mother and father and their representatives (teachers, priests, superiors, etc.), that rebellion activates a deep unconscious feeling of guilt.

The psychic situation of the gambler, therefore, is, first, *unconscious aggression*, and, second, unconscious tendency toward *self-punishment* because of that aggression. That childlike, unconscious, neurotic misunderstanding of the whole process of gambling results in a vicious circle without end. If one thinks through that fact, which I found confirmed in all of my analyses of gamblers, one comes to the conclusion that unconsciously the gambler wants to lose. His losing is simply the price he pays for the neurotic aggression he expresses in attacking unconsciously the educational authority of his childhood. Long analytic experience teaches us that in neurosis no aggression is possible without self-punishment. The whole conception of the neurosis is based on the knowledge that neurotics unconsciously transfer conflicts experienced with their mother and father to innocent persons whom they unconsciously identify with their parents. Since aggression toward their parents was forbidden, every aggression toward the substitutes is inwardly forbidden, too, and if executed, expiated by severe self-punishment. We see here, by the way, the difference between normal and pathological aggression. In the former the enmity is directed toward the real person only and not toward the imaginary one; in the former, too, no inner feeling of guilt is present, since normally our aggression is aroused only in self-defense and, since the enemy is not identified unconsciously with persons associated with childhood, the righteous indignation justifies itself without feeling of guilt.

Hence my conviction that the gambler cannot win in the long run because losing is needed for his psychic equilibrium— it is the price he pays for his neurotic aggression, and at the same time makes possible the continuation of gambling.

IV. THE MYSTERIOUS "THRILL" IN GAMBLING

The unconscious driving force which gives rise to the phenomenon "gambler" springs from unconscious resuscitation of the childish megalomania, with all of its neurotic results. In other words, the gambler is a "naughty" child who expects punishment after performing his forbidden, aggressive deal. Basically, the *pleasant* component of the tension which the gambler feels is derived from the pleasure of aggressively-used childish megalomania; the *painful* component of this tension

arises from expectation of punishment for his crime. The whole psychic problem is complicated, however, by a masochistic superstructure. A prototype of the situation described above would be the "bad" boy expecting spanking for his "naughtiness." Between aggressive deed and punishment is interposed a period of expectation of punishment which varies in length. A patient whom I was treating because of gambling told me that the interim between staking and the outcome of the game reminded him of an experience he had had in school. During a written examination he was tortured by the thought that because of insufficient time and inadequate preparation he would fail the examination. In that moment his fear changed into sexual excitement. "Is it possible to experience sexual pleasure in a situation of anxiety?" asked my naïve patient. My patient's comparison was only partly correct. The tension felt in gambling is of shorter duration; sexual excitement in itself is repressed and above all, is not at all of the genital type; the pleasure experienced is unconscious only and is made up partly of "psychic masochism." The sequence of events in the tension of gambling is, in other words, aggression toward mother and father, expectation of punishment, rebound of the aggression like a boomerang toward the gambler himself because of feeling of guilt, and sexualization of that punishment as psychic masochism. Anyone who denies that fear can be sexualized unconsciously should simply observe people enjoying a mystery thriller in a movie house. These fans identify deeply with the victims and enjoy thereby the "thrill of being overwhelmed." Another example of this sexualization of suffering is found in neurotic children who remain unchanged by punishment. Having provoked punishment, they continue the deeds for which they are punished. A permissible deduction is that they "like" it unconsciously. Strangely enough, they "like" the punishment only if they have provoked it unconsciously themselves (Eidelson).

That "masochistic component" proves, from the standpoint of the possibility of winning, very dangerous. Since the gambler wants, unconsciously, masochistic pleasure, he can achieve a maximum of it only by losing. Of course, that he consciously has the wish to win is undeniable, but that wish is dynamically not at all effective.

Still, the fact that the gambler experiences psychic masochistic pleasure unconsciously does not answer the problem entirely. Why should the gambler choose that means of obtaining this pleasure when there are thousands of ways of obtaining it? That masochistic enjoyment contributes something to his thrill is to be accepted. But it does

not explain the *specificity* of the problem of gambling.* This is to be found elsewhere:

First, the vicious circle described above between constant rebellion against all educational rules, based on reduction to absurdity, with subsequent self-punishment as a factor. Not everyone feels the need of that constant rebellion against authority and resuscitation of childlike megalomania. That "perpetual motion" of rebellion executed in constant proof of the futility of every attempt to destroy the childlike omnipotence through the "reality principle" is pathognomic for the gambler.

Second, only a specific subgroup of a specific group of neurotics makes up gamblers. These people are orally regressed and consistently use the following mechanism, which I call the "mechanism of orality," made up of three components: First, they provoke unconsciously a situation in which they are refused. Second, they throw themselves, full of hatred and seemingly in self-defence against their self-constructed enemies. Third, they revel in self-pity, enjoying unconscious psychic masochistic pleasure. The feelings of "righteous indignation" and self-pity only, not an understanding of what they represent, are conscious in that mechanism; the remaining is repressed.** Not all neurotics who use that "mechanism of orality" are gamblers; on the other hand, all gamblers use that mechanism. In other words, gamblers represent a specific subgroup of "oral" neurotics. The significant fact in the "oral mechan-

* The analytic literature does not give us any definite clues concerning gamblers; the whole problem is, with but a few exceptions, still terra incognita. When analytic authors do speak about gamblers they do so only in a tangential manner. Freud mentions the fact that gambling may be, in certain cases, unconscious substitute for masturbation with self-punishment. ("Dostojewski und die Vätertötung," Ges. Schr., XII). Simmel believes that gamblers regress to the anal level of libido development ("Zur Psychoanalyse der Spieler," Int. Z. f. Psychoan., 1920). Hartingberg assumes that the gambler looks for a pleasure in fear ("Analerotik, Angstlust, Egensinn," Int. Z. f. Psychoan., 1912). Laforgue stresses the same point of erotization of fear in gamblers ("Ueber Erotisierung der Angst," Int. Z. f. Psychoan., 1930). Ernest Jones describes the "Case of Paul Murphy" (Psychoan. Bewegung, 1931) and believes that Murphy's chess talent was based on a sublimation of the son's oedipal aggression toward his father. Similar conclusions are drawn by Pfister ("Ein Hamlet am Schachbrett," Psychoan. Bewegung, 1931).

The only existing psycho-analytic paper covering the whole problem of gambling with an attempt to explain, not details, but the underlying problem is that of the present writer, "On the Psychology of the Gambler," Imago, 1936. The paper presented above is a continuation of that preliminary publication.

** A summary of that mechanism, which I have described in all of its ramifications in a dozen papers, can be found in my monograph, "Psychic Impotence in Men," Medical Ed., Huber, Berne, 1937, or in "The Psychological Inter-relation of Alcoholism and Genital Sexuality," J. of Criminal Psychopathology, Vol. 4, No. 1, July, 1942.

ism" is that it gives masochistic pleasure behind a facade of aggression. But whereas other oral neurotics are content to push by various means the mother of the pre-oedipal period and her successive representatives into the situation of refusal, the gambler uses a specific device for that purpose—the derisive one described above, of proving how senseless are all the parental rules and moral principles since in gambling chance is decisive.

From that viewpoint we understand why the gambler is 100% convinced that he must win. His surety derives from the unconscious certainty of reducing his mother to absurdity as a giving person, shifted upon optimism of winning.

One might object that, even if that theory of gambling were correct, it would be applicable only to games of pure chance (for instance, roulette, dice, etc.), not to games combining chance and "reasoning" (for instance, races, bridge, stock exchange, etc.), where judgment, ability to bluff, etc. *also* play a part. Strangely enough, genetically and psychologically there is no essential difference between these games. The original form of childlike omnipotence is always repressed. However, since this omnipotence remains dynamically effective in the unconscious, the adult is always on the look-out for a situation in which he can continue his aggressively-meant omnipotence in a compromise. That concession to the "principle of reality" gives some people the opportunity to continue their childish drive. Ratio intervenes as a connecting link between the original omnipotence of thoughts—the vehicle of childish megalomania—and reality. Behind the mask of ratio, of intellectual achievements, the old sacrifice before the altar of the pagan god, omnipotence of thoughts, is tolerated by the "principle of reality." For instance, in the book mentioned earlier, the boy Jean Christophe, who so desperately wanted to direct the clouds, later becomes an orchestra conductor. In other words, the amount of disguise required determines to what degree a pure game of chance is chosen or some intellectual substitute. In this respect, it is interesting to note that even in the "queen" of all games of intellect, chess, the development described above can be proven. Every student of chess knows that in its oldest form, in the "Tschaturanga" of old India, both partners had to throw dice to decide what the next move should be. One should not be deceived by the fact that so many gamblers lay such a preponderance on reasoning, "tips," experience and "intellectual" evaluation of chances; they attempt thereby to deny that they gamble, that is, apply childish megalomania. The best proof of that mechanism of

negation is the constant attempt to find "systems" in pure games of chance, for instance, roulette. That is of course impossible. The only advantage this attempt provides is that of saving the gambler the pain of ambivalence—of deciding what his next move should be. The same interpretation holds for the gambler's superstition—it is reminiscent of the horror-chamber of obsessional neurotics, based, as Freud has shown of superstition in general, on the idea of omnipotence of repressed aggressive wishes.

V. ATTEMPTS AT TYPOLOGY OF GAMBLERS

(a) The "classical" gambler presents all of the aforementioned six signs and symptoms, based on rebellion against the "reality principle." He uses the device of aggressive omnipotence accompanied by masochistically-tinged self-punishment. Analysis proves him to be an oral neurotic, in the majority of cases without his realizing that he is a sick person; on the contrary, he lives from one masochistic shock to another, ever convinced that he will win some day.

Literary examples of that type of gambler are found in Frank Norris' "Vandover and the Brute" and Dostojevski's "The Gambler." The characters in each are deeply masochistic, losing out constantly in life and in the game. If one of them sometimes wins (as does Dostojevski's character), he spends that money senselessly, then humiliates himself socially to earn a few dollars with which to gamble once more.

The prognosis for that type of gambler is favorable only if the patient has a conviction that he does something irrational in gambling and has a feeling of guilt not entirely saturated in losing.*

(b) Another type of male gambler is the one who *wants unconsciously to be overwhelmed because of his feminine identification*. The superficial layer is the negative (inverted) oedipus fixation: unconscious identification with his mother, wish to be overwhelmed by his father (father substitute). The oral substructure is analytically discernible beneath that superficial layer. The gambler of this type uses the typical tricks of losing—not stopping when in luck, forcing the game when losing, making "mistakes" by overlooking chances, etc. He might just as well deliver his money to his adversary before the game

* To simplify matters, I have not mentioned "mixed" cases. The patient whose case history I published in my first paper on gambling was alternately gambler, kleptomaniac and coprophemic.

starts, so sure is he to lose because of his identification of the game with the sexual pleasure of being overwhelmed. A literary example of this is Johann Auberg, in Soyka's "Master in Gambling."

The gambler of this type has analytically the best prognosis. The majority of patients whom I cured of gambling were of this type.

(c) A third type of gambling is based, not on submission, but on *defence against that feminine phantasy of being sexually overwhelmed*. Gamblers of this type propagate the theory that the "stronger personality" is bound to win. They gamble only with men, finding gambling with women boring, and represent a pendant of the type of man with whom we are all familiar, who assumes a Don Juan pose because unconsciously he must defend himself against his feminine identification by fleeing from men. As long as these gamblers can find a "weaker" man (that is, a gambler such as described in type b), their fiction can be supported and the neurosis is latent. A collapse of that phantasy means also the manifestation of the neurosis. An example is Paul Murphy, as described by Jones and Konrad Wehlen in the novel mentioned before by Soyka.

The prognosis in analytic treatment of that type is fair.

(d) As a fourth type of gambler I would like to mention a fictitious one, the "*gambler without excitement*." Such a gambler exists only in the imagination of gamblers who would like to appear detached and so create an ideal for the purpose. In reality, there are none; a man who did not feel the gambler's neurotic excitement would not gamble, since gambling as a business would be too problematic. True, we apparently find some gamblers of this type, sometimes called "superior" gamblers. For instance, we have the veteran gamblers who play for a long time "for a living," only occasionally plunging stakes in the wildest games. These are the gamblers of only one or two stakes, who seem satisfied only to breathe the air of a gambling house. Honoré de Balzac mentions that type in the beginning of "La peau de chagrin:"

"Opposite the bankholder stood some of the smart speculators and specialists of gambling, who, like old criminals, were no longer afraid of the galley. They came to play three stakes, disappearing immediately after having won their livelihood."

We also find gamblers of this type among some frigid hysteric women, who seem to treat gambling as they treat men, coldly and spongingly.* Dostojevsky describes that type in an incidental way in "The Gambler." I doubt whether such detachment toward the game really exists. A woman of that type whom I analyzed hid behind her cold facade a wild gambling nature.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Gambling is a complicated neurosis, but it is generally not recognized as such.** The unfortunate gambler, who often ends in suicide, bears in the outer world simply the stigma of immorality. The only chance to change him lies in psychoanalytic treatment. On the other hand, one of the prerequisites of treatment is lacking in most cases: understanding on the part of the gambler that a neurosis is involved and the wish to change. It is not that these sick persons do not have enough unconscious feeling of guilt which could be utilized analytically; but, unfortunately, they spend this feeling of guilt mainly in losing and bearing the contempt of their environment.***

It rarely happens that the gambler of his free will seeks treatment. In general, his family asks for it. In such cases one can attempt analytically to mobilize the latent feeling of guilt; usually the prognosis in these analyses "on order" is more than doubtful.

There is something tragi-comic in the personality of the gambler. His fanatic belief that he will be successful some day after all reminds me of the way in which a humorous gambler patient consoled himself in a moment of self-irony: "You know, I remind myself of the man who played the game of trying to guess which of his opponent's fists contained a silver dollar. In this game if you choose correctly you win a dollar; if not, you lose a dollar. In this instance, though, the game was misused for cheating. The man's opponent, after the decision, managed to win always by sleight of hand. An onlooker, seeing the swindle, asked the loser, 'Don't you see that you are being cheated?' 'Of course I see it,' was the indignant answer, 'but I must

* See the monograph by Hitschmann and Bergler, "Frigidity in Women," Nervous and Mental Disease Pub. Co., New York, 1936.

** There is no point in arguing whether gambling represents a neurosis or a cross between compulsion and addiction; it contains elements of each.

*** There is, however, no reason to feel pity for psychopaths who take advantage of neurotic gamblers; they are exploiters of an addiction or neurosis, comparable to drug peddlers.

first win back my money'...." We laugh at that man, knowing that he will never win back his money, but will lose more and more. Still, that is the picture of the gambler as he really is; in place of the cheat in my patient's illustration is the invincible power of a machine or a gambling house.

A cynical gambler once told me that the gambler was, of course, a sucker, but only partially one. He paid, not for chips, horse races, or worthless stocks, etc., but for — hope. That may be true, but the "buyers of hope" are not conscious of it; they believe they have a chance, and though swindled never give up hope. For that reason, in certain countries in former days the list of persons cheated by swindlers in worthless stocks was worth money; they could be cheated again.

A patient once suggested to me that in a few hundred years the gambler would be forced by law to be treated psychiatrically, even as today in some states the luetic sufferer is compelled by law to be treated medically. The difference lies in the fact that, while the anti-luetic treatment can be enforced more or less, even without cooperation, psychoanalytic treatment is impossible without it.

A sly friend who was familiar with my theory of gambling made fun of the fact that gamblers do not feel sick and do not overcrowd analytic waiting rooms. He quoted the story of a traveling salesman who was given a very long list of prospective customers in various cities. On his return the salesman was proud that he had covered his list of cities. "Did you transact business in them?" asked his employer. "Business!" exclaimed the salesman, "I was glad I didn't miss my train connections." My friend could not understand the purpose of spending a great amount of time and though in studying patients who so seldom showed up. Scientific research is purpose in itself. It seems that "little people" do not profit from gambling. The physician earns as little from treating a gambler as does the gambler who refuses to be a patient, in gambling. It seems a hopeless trade; only the financier at the head of the gambling house in its different disguises makes money, and the situation will hardly change in this our time. Gambling is in every respect a losing proposition.

A BIOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF DELINQUENCY

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ARGUMENT

Criminosis or Social Crime is the antithesis of Neurosis, which is private conflict, though both may function at the expense of society. We introduce the concept of instinctual crime based on biological zones of origin, as opposed to penal crime based on social resultants. We shall speak of oral crime, also anal crime, urethral and somatic crime, etc., rather than assaultive crime, etc., (of earlier usage) based on behavior. In all antisocial violence the character of the perpetrator is more significant than the character of the given circumstances of his outburst, and may more readily explain the special nature of his behavior. Whereas Neurosis is a study of *Phobias* of externalized objects and situations, Criminosis is a study of *Phobias* of the same objects internalized, both being based on developmental factors related to fixation levels, ultimately on interplay of forces of super ego and id. Delinquency is regarded as an intermediary psychic structure somewhere between character disturbances and frank neuroses. As such, criminosis is a social disorder requiring correction only as part of a fuller psychotherapy.

If we believe that crime is determined by instinctual factors no less than press of environment, we must expect the law to take greater cognizance of biological implications in any attempt at remedial measures. It may be claimed that efforts at reform and rehabilitation, correction and vindication are at best palliatives, actually encouraging recidivism if these deeper factors remain overlooked. The shift in approach will be away from the societal judgment on results (a felony, misdemeanor, etc.) to a specific one, of causations (deprivation anxiety, etc.), or an individual one based on instinct (arrestive, etc.). Now it is not sufficient to speak (as does Stearns) of pugnacious, procreative, acquisitive or statutory crime, dependant on a chosen mode of behavior, unless the underlying motives for these in the individual are most clearly understood. Thus manslaughter and arson, perversion and demoralizing, etc., remain meaningless terms of legal diction unless the "inner man" is known. It is recognized that the courts have neither the time nor the capacity, the purpose nor the set-up, to investigate the *origins* of the crimes they treat, even if the atmosphere were conducive to release of unconscious factors. At present the legal machinery is content to codify behavioral end-products according to the seriousness of the social insult involved (measured in standard terms), and to mete out decision and justice, punishment and vindication on the swift subjective estimate of that insult, measured in ethical terms, (though usually based, as in "sex crimes" on prejudice and convention). No agreed

evaluation by it obtains, precisely because the instinctual formations at work are left out of account. The trivial, to the law, may be the most grave element to the subject and vice versa. We contribute a new programme towards clarification.

For purposes of review of the criminal mind, we propose to limit the commoner forms of legal crime to certain standard, but well-defined heads of enquiry, in so far as these correlate with certain proven developmental zones, thereby laying emphasis in a new direction. Instinctual modes of behavior may take on fresh meaning in this connection, while the whole field of character in relation to crime itself requires re-assessment. Criminosis, it is claimed, is halfway between neurosis and the psychopathic character (Fuxe), though according to Staub and Alexander, biologic (organic) causes predominate, while the psychological, developmental, environmental and personal, also play a part.

THE NATURE OF THE CRIMINAL ACT

The wide functional signification of delinquency for the deeper purposes of the Personality, precludes any single explanation of *the nature of the act* from the standpoint of the unconscious. It gains motivation from many mental mechanisms which may, in themselves, be sufficient explanation of the *modus operandi* of the instinct involved; but for the origins of crime we must seek rather in the vicissitudes of the *libido* life. Chief among the mechanisms invoked are substitution and compensation, reaction and conversion, repression and gratification, but the symbolic element may still be of primary importance, e. g., burglary may arise simply from unconscious substitution. This denotes the satisfaction from a token equivalent of an original prized object or act. Again *stealing* may be satisfied with a grown-up's hoard, when the prime goal and purpose may be the breast of infancy. The act may arise from a desire for restitution, having stolen from one to pay back another, to conscience. It may be a transference of affect from the more dangerous to the less highly-charged object, so that the object, itself irrelevant, becomes charged with enormous emotional potentials. Again it may be a *conversion* phenomenon, an act of behavior signifying deprivation and punishment to the victim, and, as such, a symbolic castration on the part of the perpetrator. In such instances, the satisfaction of the crime is in the performance, not in the pecuniary advantages accruing. The presence of some source of grievance (phy-

sical shortcoming or mental irritation) may also seek redress in burglary which acts as compensation for felt inferiority. We should finally have to take into account the sources of satisfaction to the unconscious through its symbolic systems; and whether the object stolen, the act of stealing, the way of going about it, or the person involved, does service as prime justificatory symbol; or any act is surrogate for important objects or figures in the psychic life. In this thesis, the accent is rather on the instinctual systems and their symbolic import.

INSTINCTUAL SYSTEMS

By way of justification for this method of attack on the problem, we trace back the major groups of delinquent behavior to certain instinctual component heads, five in number, that are governed by *characterological* necessity, and emotional needs, involved in the primary levels of the Personality. The approach thus places the emphasis rather on causations in personal development than on social results. Quite simply, such levels are those catering to oral cannibalistic needs, anal sadistic and urethral narcissistic, also the needs of genital erotism or somatic realism. These, it is claimed, supply the basic motives for all crime. The above statement as given may have oversimplified the factors involved.

Let us take each seriatim. On oral levels, we find persons with unsatisfied oral valencies of ambition and drive, greed and grasp, punch and power, also with a stout love of sensation and alarm, prone to dictation and bellicosity (*showing the fangs*), who seek sensationalistic outlet in the Assaultive crime group, best catering to the clinical manifestation of the Assertive instinct. Oral crime has always some of the characters of cannibalism and extreme primitiveness. That is why the fingers or carving knife, the 'cut-throat' or humane-killer play a part. The assaultive instinct further covers the penal offenses statutorily listed as murder and assassination, bludgeoning and manslaughter, knifing and slashing, use of weapons and fire-arms, battery and assault, threat and extortion, etc., etc. The various "counts" such as the law admits, are all sufficiently indicated by the one classificatory group, *Oral* crime.

Again, it is in the oral sexual sphere that there is found the secondary satisfactions that play a part in the commission of the crime of assault, e. g., the publicity, the pleasure of "armed love" or "love of arms," the use of arms in fight, the combative and pugnacious assaultiveness that gives the criminal something of the Hero's masochistic gratifica-

tion. The further motif of oral domination over others, or incorporation by force of arms (or hands), is here of psychological importance, for greed and grasp go together; whilst the more primitive outlets of oral rejection and motives of revenge and pride, play a subsidiary part. A psychiatric survey of this behavior group as a whole supports the thesis that it is *founded on unsublimated oral libido*, and that a personality stamp with traits of veiled aggression, etc., is always present. The born gun-man and killer, the 'fingerman' and the man of power, the stout-hearted and the brawny bull-necked types are thus addicted to assertive and assaultive crime, whilst the sensationalism involved, the press of action and sense of power and surgency of movement all act as subsidiary motives.. Such are easily bored and need ever fresh thrills. The syndrome is indicated in Table I. We find that an expansive mode of living, an emotional extravagancy and cold-hearted character traits predominate. The twin *vectors* of absorption (grasp) and ejection, are operative, but the fundamental drive here is the *joy of pointing*, the love of the (threatening) pointed object, ultimately nipple and index finger of the mother. Because of this tendency we postulate a penal group of Acrophilia, and describe these infantile exploiters of the instinct as Acrophiliacs. Assaultive crime relates to the biologic symbol of "love of arms," armed love and arrestive tendencies generally.

I. ON SENSATIONALISTIC LEVELS

A group of delinquents in a prison population falling to the above rubric Acrophilia, received psychiatric interviews and their personality revealed a strong libidinous interest in the direction indicated. They were as individuals frustrated and felt denied, as a rule they were underprivileged in other ways. Many had typical oral elements in their make-up; though in this instance the group as a whole showed a characteristic picture of the oral type. (The fact that it was heterogeneous, involved in other functional complexes, was somewhat moron and not amenable to depth exploration, made for difficulty in determining an exact and consistent pattern for the whole). The racial primitiveness of acrophiliacs was shown by the large proportion of colored men and poor grade Italians; perhaps indicating the fixation levels of some cultures (oral), or the level conducive to oral cannibalistic crime, which contact with civilization had but little transformed. It ranged from wielding table knives to use of fists and pistols, whilst a love of the showy, of personal prowess and unbridled expansive ambitions prevailed, but a "dinner complex" persisted. A typical case is given though a whole

series of constant pattern was forthcoming. (Type A). We propose here to take a corresponding view of all other levels.

Type A. Oral Sado-masochism

Albert H. 39; a square faced, heavy set, thick-necked, pyknosomatic individual. He affects a loud, dynamic, high-charged, emphatic style; is an arrogant, loquacious, pompous braggart. He is hyper-energetic, cold-blooded, with a good bluff and conceit. He was charged with assaulting a young girl by attacking her limb with a meat chopper. His case is typical of those instances of gunmen, slashers, assassins or murderers and all who find pleasure in sharp instruments (Acrophilia).

He is of mixed Irish and Hessian stock, elder of two brothers of good economic circumstances and received private tuition (owing to poor school concentration and considered "backwardness.") He was of "unmanageable behavior" as a child, affected with "abnormal sex lusts and soiling of his person." He received four serious falls in infancy. Once in pique he threatened to destroy an entire institution. He always showed an arrrestive and self-arresting nature. Was a chronic liar and bragger of whom other boys went in fear. He showed other sadistic tendencies.

He now exhibits exaggeration in thought, immoderation in conduct, signs of omniverous reading and out-of-the-way knowledge, retailed by free association. He is elaborate in his gestures, has megaloid ideas, a superb vanity and entertains phantasies of cruelty both conscious and unconscious, as his dreams and drawings show.

Such traits as ambition and optimism, greed and vindictiveness, were noted in him also self-glory; loquacity and biting sarcasm being especially noteworthy. He desired in his criminal act to do a surgical operation complete in every detail, and found sensational gratification in contemplating the deed. He sees no wrong in his acts. Perhaps the insufferable pose, superbity of diction and expression, and callousness of manner in this case, also the petty vanity and domineering, sufficiently indicate the particular narcissistic criminal type affected. The character traits were of pronounced oral genre whose sado-masochistic features were specially noteworthy. His fixation level may serve to explain both the defective mentality and the fang-and-claw nature of this crime.

II. ON AFFECTIVE LEVELS

In ontogenetic development the need for grasping (of food) is supplanted by the need for withholding (gain and retention), hence the primary drive toward Acquisitive crime; the power theme is replaced by the "cornering" motif. This includes the emotional satisfaction of breaking-in by stealth, the love of hoarding being a subsidiary factor. The penal code here has reference to such instances as burglary, stealing, safe-robbery, defalcation and money irregularities, policy cases and all modes of thieving down to pilfering and petty larceny. The group could be referred to one basic rubric—kleptophilia.* Thus, lar-

* Philia is the unconscious "liking" for objects which we claim determines delinquency just as phobia is the like distrust of objects making for neurosis. The chaos of existing terminology is the result of historic developments. We find, cheek by jowl, such apparently unrelated terms as *kleptomania*, *claustrophobia*, *skopophilia*, *homoerotism* and *breaking-in*; which are instinctually one. "Mania" is misleading as it suggests 'raving violence;' when "liking for" alone is intended, also "phobia" when dislike is implied. We suggest so as to simplify terminology, "philia" to cover all the unconscious repeat addictions, e. g., *acrophilia*, *kleptophilia*, *pyrophilia*, *skoptophilia* and *homophilia* (self explanatory terms to cover most known crimes).

ceny psychologically expressed is the biologic symbol of "stolen love" i. e. love filched from the mother. It satisfies strong sadistic drives emanating from anal sources (hence the revenge motives, the jealousy and the hoarding etc. involved). It derives from the instinct of self acquisition with desire of accumulation. This cumulativeness is here a dominant trait with need for *stealth* as an auxiliary factor. The character trends in these criminals take the form of parsimony and extortion, great care in planning along with monotonous repetitiveness, money-worship and religiosity, agitation of mood and psychic depression while from the organic side there is obstipation, piles and crepitation, for all such could in some form be observed in our series. When we tested a group of 40 falling to the rubric *kleptophilia*, it tended as a whole to show a personality pattern in the direction indicated; thus, miserliness and moody preoccupation were found along with exactitude and conscientiousness, i. e., products of the restrictive character organization we have discussed, with some further evidences of anal sadism and definite obsessive features in their makeup. They were, as a clinical group, not classifiable as of pure stamp and pattern in any one direction, but all the indications they gave were sufficiently suggestive of the one biological feature in common. (A typical case is given).

Type B. Anal Sadism

Samuel R. 54; is eldest of two children, a fruit peddler, able to earn \$38.00 a week and rarely out of work. Married, but wife had left him, so he sought additional funds by "borrowing" from other women on promise of marriage, hence the present charge. It involved \$3000. He did not support his wife, was domestically disorderly and had shown previous petty thieving propensities. He was inclined to gambling and speculation, and boasted of his prowess in drink.

He appears as a crestfallen, anxious individual, broken-spirited and slighted, who finds the world unfriendly. He has no one to confide in. He wears an agitated expression, is chronically constipated and has gall bladder complaints. There were noted certain hoarding propensities, some retentiveness (in dealing in old clothes), circumscribed interests and undue insistence on moneys; but ability for a fine "social splash" on occasion. He showed the character traits of niggardliness, self-denial, abstemiousness and cruelty; all these bespeak the anal sadist.

His personality assay was of one *regulative* in constitution, *constrained* in character, *repetoid* in personality organization, with a will of petty *tyranny*, of *rigidity* in traits, *aggressive* in instincts, a physically *dysplastic* type. Thus the repressed *aggression* in this case, found outlet and libido satisfaction largely on anal levels.

III. ON IMAGINAL LEVELS

Next in instinctual significance is a sense of Omnipotence, the narcissistic overemphasis on Self in infancy, along with overwhelming destruc-

tive impulses that the child tries, by means of a certain medium, to exploit and enjoy before it can master and control, this medium (urine) acting by virtue of its scalding content (fire and water). In later life, such overweening destructiveness is replaced by jealousy, damaging, etc. Thus the revenge and injured pride, the love of heat and hate in these narcissistic criminals may argue a sense of kindled passion and inflamed love derived from purely urinary erotic levels. Such loves and hates are to be found back of most arson cases, and they signify an ambivalent love toward the mother projected on society. We name this fixation tendency *Pyrophilia*, and it is designed to cover all cases of fraudulent fire insurance, arson, flooding and wanton destructiveness. We know that incendiarism gives gratification by the ipsation induced, or following on its awakened phantasy content. For such criminals, the behavior often correlates with enuresis in childhood, and—insofar as this represents an ipsation equivalent—may indicate that the individual has not yet reached adult psycho-sexual levels.

Some of the character trends noted on examination of the group of 20 falling to the rubric *Pyrophilia*, were of the nature of immaturity and purity, sensitivity and aestheticism, also autism and ambition. They showed marked fluency and ideational perseveration along with some original, often bizarre, imagery. Though the phantasy content could not be elicited in every case, it was noted that pleasure in waterfalls, ignition and sounds of running water, played a part. Members of this group were of low intellection, possibly *because they were fixated* at these infantile urinary levels. Also they were heavy smokers and the fire-theme occupied much of their instinctual life. They had somewhat of a schizothymic personality makeup. (A typical case follows).

Type C. Urethral Narcism

Benjamin S. . . . 30; eldest in family of four of Austro-Hungarian stock, was brought up on marginal economic security. He is of good intelligence. He has repeatedly raised fires. He was a difficult forceps delivery, fretful and irritable with convulsions as a child, the source of many school complaints. He suffered certain infant traumas, a fall on the head, circumcision and tonsil operations. He talked at 3; was always regarded as a day dreamer, "sullen and queer," a creature of sudden impulses and easily lead. Psychologist reported him as inaccessible with a "very wide scatter" over his tests and queried epilepsy. I. Q. was 78. His mother noted his passion for destruction and for making queer noises, that "he liked to see fire engines and pursue them" also his need for excitement and later, his somewhat excessive masturbation.

His docility and social acceptance was early commented on, also his willingness and obedience but inability to protect self from assault (passive pederasty); his quietness and degree of trustworthiness; his depressions, absence of hetero-sexual contacts and lack of insight, were variously noted. In adolescence he attempted a break away from

home, to be a rebel towards his family and endeavored "to raise hell." Tests by Rorschach technique at this time, suggested he had... "a ready, fluent and rapid recall, hampered by poorly controlled associations and false memories. His mind was periodically clouded or controlled by stereotyped ideas; ideas and attitudes do not control his thinking but are used by his unconscious to satisfy his needs."

As far as can be determined, so far, passivity and exaltation, fluency and fire-interest and a stern individuality are the dominant traits. In early manhood he was still the butt of parental nerve storms, suffered a lack of amenities, parental disciplines and genuine emotional warmth. He developed facial tics, nail biting, bashfulness, was always fearful of fighting. The picture is thus of an essentially passive, docile and facile nature; unextravagant, unambitious but conscientious.

The psychiatric impression today is of an over-delicate type, sensitive to light, noise and disturbance; with bizarre fancies. He is restless, over-imaginative and with some evidence of constitutional inferiority. He shows nictitation, social tension, fear of being alone.

As to character, he is suggestible and unthinking, lively, ambitious and of tense make-up. He harbors strong feelings of inferiority with dubious compensation in tales of prowess and bragging. Sometimes he appears cold-blooded and dissociated from reality. In personality, he is of leptosomatic build, impulsive in constitution and autistic in instinct with repressed aggression accompanying a rich phantasy life; but there is a heavily inhibited imaginative content. His anxiety features and character-istic trends suggests urethral narcissistic levels of fixation, with a persisting infantile love of destruction.

IV. ON REALISTIC LEVELS

The level of genital adequacy in the individual is not reached without a struggle, and the entire range of so-called "sexual crime" bears witness to the vicissitudes of its evolution. This behavior group contains elements of earlier instinctual tendencies. Under the legal code, it embraces prostitution (or living on proceeds), rape, sex-assault, incest, interfering with children, demoralising, etc., also exhibitionism, peeping and minor irregularities that the law includes as misdemeanors. Psychologically the group may be covered by the general term *skopophilia*, since handling, touching and contact pleasure derive from the act of seeing. It caters to the instinct of genital erotism and operates in all situations of heightened sex tension and personal sexual gratification on genital levels, possibly with secondary gain to be derived from the sense of outrage and humiliation, etc., involved. The associative impulse of proximity is here satisfied. These criminals, as a group, dislike isolation and deprivation, though close living may have induced relative self-sufficiency. We found, in the population examined, certain of the following distinctive characterological features: the tendency toward immaturity and child-like audacity, some suggestibility, animation and a ready responsiveness; a general excitability of temperament and shallowness of mood, restlessness and ebullience and all the signs of hysteroid personality make up. Anxiety and guilt appeared to

be the emotional undercurrents. The group thus falling to the rubric Skopophilia formed a homogeneous personality group and their crime may be developmentally determined on genital levels. A typical case is given.

Type D. Genital Erotism

Edward B. . . 35; charged with rape and incestuous assault, illustrates the group trend of skopophilia. His build is athletic and he is a vigorous, active type, fond of sport and moderate alcohol. Is youngest of three children, lived with parents till he married at 31. Admits previous heterosexual relationships and adequate sexual outlet; discovered masturbation at age 14. He has three children, was much out of work and considered a poor provider and was often in the domestic relation courts. The four years of marriage were under tension, he claims, owing to lack of birth control methods, frustration and at last his being "driven to alcohol," also the fact that his wife was drawn more to her mother and spiritual advisers. The offense was one of masturbating his child in play (rather than penetration), but wife had reported a previous exposure before his children, and his recoiling from contact with her.

His constitution is reactive; his character trait one of responsiveness, a man of hysteroid personality organization. He is of excitable emotion, of shallow moods and ebullient in temperament. The general picture is of genital adequacy and psychosexual maturity but with lapses into more childish gratification when powerful frustration is present.

V. ON COGNITIVE LEVELS

The period of fruition of the instinct of curiosity (e. g. intelligent social and scientific curiosity) of somatic exploration and psychic experimentation belongs, we claim, to the post-genital organization of the infant's libido, with the dawn of intelligence and abstract comprehension in the *latency* period. The phenomena met with in this phase, the self-examination and criticism, trial and error, e. g., general hypochondriasis and dubity may sow the seed for a certain species of crime. This will take the form of drug addiction, with alcoholism, cults or self medication as its main feature. With this go the legal forms of a certain type of crime, sexual perversion, homosexuality, blackmail, and the various crimes inter-relating with these (e. g., extortion, disturbed interpersonal relations, sodomy, etc.) that fall to the rubric now we would call *Homophilia*. The motive herein is not stolen love, armed love, etc., but *inverted* love, an interest cathected on the reverse of objects yet appealing to the higher intellectual content. (Homosexuals are of superior mentality). The instinctual sexual level reached in these cases is the psycho-somatic one; the motif is toward execration and devaluation of its objects, and the character trends displayed are usually of the paranoid order. That is why an apparently isolate variable such

as repressed homosexuality correlates highly with drunkenness and perversion, hypochondriasis and somatic complaint, e. g. duodenal ulcer. In these subjects, the characteristics are in the direction of querulousness and obstreperous revolutionary trends of surly, cryptic and suspicious attitudes, precise and abstract reasoning in a casuistic, emotionally impenetrable type. The group we examined showed many features of a paranoid personality make up. (Typical case is given).

Type E. Somatic Realism

Robert S... a gaunt, asthenic, tall, rather wasted individual, is an example of Homophilia, i. e., a persistent desire directed solely toward fellow men. He is a refined type, of North-German stock, speaks with a soft, colorless voice but inhibits all emotional or associated gestures. He has deep-set eyes, a stern countenance and determined features; reveals a highly tensed physical frame and shows a fine facial muscle tremor.

He is of ascetic disposition, uses an artificial and stilted manner in speaking and is often ingratiating and pandering. The conversation is largely impersonal or autistic. He is suspicious, socially, largely condemnatory or provocative of others. There is some over-idealization of his mother.

While under observation, he showed a high intelligence, a lively interest in novelities and abstractions and an unusual scientific curiosity. It would appear that he has a special predilection for macabre and gruesome themes, also an ingenious recall of much of the "curious" literature. His social reactions further suggest an unconscious uncertainty as to his own sexual position. He affects a feminine timbre in voice, a foppish address and has an inordinate love of suffering, himself always taking a passive phantasy role, i. e., with an inversion of the masculine position. Further, he shows certain behavioristic tendencies of a perverse nature, has developed a typical bodily hypochondriasis, and an austere capacity for tragedy and self-flagellation. Clinically, he has the build, the character and all the manneristic expressions of a typical sex variant; qualities which appear to have been present from early years. He is non-alcoholic. His reaction to the life situation now is definitely paranoid. In this instance, the inability to subjugate the instinct of curiosity, to complete the process of introjection and to deal on a realistic or rationalistic plane with the outcome of his own inversion results in sadistic delusions of influence and reference, and in aural hallucinations. He retains a cynical regard for life.

TABULATIONS OF FINDINGS

We attempt now to epitomise in a somewhat schematic way the tendencies illustrated by the five major groups under consideration. In Table I are to be found certain specific heads of classification offered as catch-words and based on conscious motive and intent, that are designed to replace the repetitive "counts" of the Law, the scattered, amorphous and often ill-listed Behavior groups to which the law applies descriptive labels. For example the various 'charges' under Heading 4, can all be conveniently grouped under 'Demoralisation' which is the intent given by the Law to the miscreant, hence its prosecution. Psy-

chologically the group would be simply Skopophilia, which is the probable instinctual motif in the mind of the perpetrator, hence his crime.

In Table 2 the implications of the main argument are summarised, and the origin of the primary classes of Criminosis that we postulate, are conveniently classified.

The justification for this over-simplified statement of Psycho-biological happenings and for its somewhat schematic and conventionalised nature, is stated in the text. It should be emphasized that no attempt is here made to subdivide these orders of crime, e. g., into oral sadistic, oral masochistic, oral narcissistic, oral erotistic, or oral realistic crime; though once in possession of the primary grading this too is a comparatively simple matter for the student of penology.

The presentation may also suggest an exclusive explanation of crime in terms of symbolic action, or sublimated or displaced affect. It does not, however, underestimate the importance in this setting, of crime being a conversion symptom, a reaction formation or compensatory in intent, but it would emphasize the symbolic character under which these tendencies masquerade. Only examination of the individual case can determine the particular mental feature involved.

The summary provided covers only the main points in this initial contribution to the subject. It is felt that these preliminary findings should be presented at this time rather as stimulus to discussion and research, than as part of any final scheme of re-codification of the vast field of anti-social conflict and individual crime.

TABLE I. A Paradigm of Crime Expression

CLASS OF
INTENT, TO

PENAL CODE

ASSAULT—murder, carrying firearms, concealed weapons, battery, knives, sharp objects
BURGLE—robbery, stealing, breaking-in, safe-crashing, fraud, illegal entry, embezzlement
CENDIARISE—fire-setting, fire-insurance, flooding, destruction, vitrial-throwing.
DEMORALISE—rape, outrage, impairing morals, living on prostitutes, incest, exposure
EXECRATE—sodomy, perversions, drugs, blackmail, forgery, alcoholism.

TABLE II
A BIOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

I CRIME ATTEMPT TO	II SATISFIED MOTIVE OF	III INSTINCTUAL URGE TO BE	IV LIBIDO SPHERE	V BIOLOGICAL COMPONENT	VI SECONDARY GAIN	VII PRIMARY PHILIA CRIMINOSIS	VIII AIM INHIBITED TO
ASSAULT	Domination	Assertive	Oral	Masochism	Armed love (Love of arms)	Acrophilia	Sensationalise
BURGLARISE	Stealth	Acquisitive	Anal	Sadism	Stolen love	Kleptophilia	Emotionalise
CENDIARISE	Revenge	Autistic	Urethral	Narcism	Inflamed love	Pyrophilia	Idealise
DEMORALISE	Degradation	Associative	Gonadal	Erotism	Debased love	Skopophilia	Dramatise
EXECRATE	Inversion	Abstract	Somatic	Realism	Perverse love	Homophilia	Recognize

DISCUSSION

Such classification takes our conception of crime out of the frame of personal self-interest and teleological significances to that of unconscious motivation and back to instinctual sources, so that the success of social therapy becomes dependent more on the ontogenetic depths that have to be reached than on the psychological issues involved. Our view takes cognizance of the so-called "character neurosis" halfway between neurosis and normality, also the biological implications inherent in the problem. This presentation may make for a ready discernment of forces at work in a complex field, without the confusion determined by behavioristic appellations of the older legal classification. The various "philiis" relate to instinctual urgencies towards acts desired by the individual and no longer feared, as a rule undeflected by monitors of control, indeed often acting in antagonism to self-interests, the origin of all *criminosis*. Unlike frank transference neurosis, which denotes the conflict of self with its instincts as manifest in fear and phobia, or Psychosis denoting self at variance with reality and manifest in subjective projections; or the narcissistic neurosis, a conflict of self with super ego (manifest in token rituals), *Criminosis* is a conflict of self with its authoritarian prototypes or ego ideals, aided by the forces of instinct it attempts to project on to them (the play of ego versus super-ego and id).

These behavioristic manifestations gain force precisely because they represent aim-uninhibited instinctual impulse in the direction of biological goals, which fixation or regression has somehow served to enhance. They are given current symbolic signification and become partially sublimated in social directives, the underlying instinct remaining the same. It is possible to analyze out for any criminal the zones involved, the secondary gain derived, the instinctual urgencies satisfied and the libido interests inhering, in all cases of involved legal crime. These classify themselves under certain acceptable characterological heads that appear to us simple and self-explanatory. We append, for convenience, an illustrative tabulation of the vital points brought out in this review, (Table 2) and summarize our findings. One hundred fifty cases received consideration for this survey.

SUMMARY

Criminosis or Social Crime is the antithesis of neurosis, which is private conflict, though both may function at the expense of society.

We introduce the concept of instinctual crime based on biological zones of origin as opposed to penal crime based on social resultants. We speak of oral crime, also anal crime, urethral and somatic crime, etc., rather than *assaultive* and other crimes (of earlier usage) descriptive of and based on behavior. In all antisocial violence the character of the perpetrator is more significant than the character of the given circumstances of his outburst. This may more readily explain the special nature of the delinquent's behavior. Whereas Neurosis is a study of *Phobias* of externalized objects and situations, Criminosis is a study of *philiis* of the same objects internalized, both being dependant on developmental factors linked to fixation levels and ultimately on interplay of forces between super ego and id. Delinquency is regarded as an intermediary psychic structure somewhere between character disturbances and frank neurosis. As such, Criminosis is a social disorder requiring correction only as part of a fuller psychotherapy.

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STRUGGLES OF A HOMOSEXUAL IN
PRE-HITLER GERMANY*

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Eric W., age 27, was born and raised in Nuremberg, Germany. His psychosexual development carried him through a series of phases which were marked by a great number of typically German defense mechanisms before he fell a victim to overt homosexuality. Manifest pederasty was attained at a relatively late stage and he was able to abandon it after treatment. Today, however, there can be little doubt but that he has become an ardent Nazi, for how could he have resisted this unique opportunity to display the picture of a perfect male?

At the time treatment began, Eric was a clerk by profession but by inclination he was a painter and a poet. He had left his native town one year before the start of treatment and he came to Vienna where I analyzed him. He was quite depressed then and expressed the wish to become heterosexual. Shy and full of inhibitions, he felt himself to be an outsider. Sexual desires followed him into his office and he was fearful that he might impulsively do things which would bring him into conflict with the penal code.

His homosexual demands were conditional in that his partners had to be adolescents. These boys, however, even when homosexual, were seeking athletic, sportsmanlike figures such as were glorified by the German philosopher Blueher, widely read in that country prior to the first World War. Blueher raved about the "men's hero" (Mannerheld) who was supposed to be so super-masculine that he could not be bothered with so effeminate an experience as falling in love with a woman. He preferred to attract men.

Eric was no men's hero. Tall and thin, pale, clumsy, absent-minded and aloof, he reminded one of a mediaeval penitent. He had a tic, observed in homosexuals, a twisting of the neck, and he frequently put his finger inside his collar as though it were too tight, a displacement

* Paper read at a meeting of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, December 16, 1941.

from below to above. When Eric saw me for the first time he looked at me as though I were the Evil One prepared to promise him all the goods of this earth but corrupting his soul in exchange.

Eric came from an exceedingly religious Lutheran family. His father, well on in years and ill, played a passive and unemphatic role in the household. His mother, still in good health, had always been the matriarch of the family. She wrote him forceful letters, adjuring him as follows: "Why do you go to doctors for help? Don't you know that there is but one doctor in Heaven who alone can help?" Hers was a very old family which could be traced back to the famous humanist John Reuchlin (1522). Eric was aware of the fact that Reuchlin's mother had been indicted as a witch and knew that only her son's brilliant plea in her defense had saved her from the stake. He was always particularly proud of this deed of his ancestor and in his early days often paraded as Reuchlin rescuing his mother.

With regard to his people's piety, Eric had much to relate. His mother prayed continually, but his aunt, his mother's sister, was even more extreme. Several times a week he had to call at her house where they knelt down in the center of the room, the old spinster and the child, and cried to the Lord. Both grandfathers were of a deeply spiritual nature and the family was known to have produced several ministers. One of Eric's grandmothers was still alive; she wrote hymns and claimed to have been visited occasionally by spirits. Eric himself was no longer religious at the time when he came to me, but, instead, was given to all kinds of mystical thoughts and activities from astrology to "temple dances," whatever that may have implied.

Eric had an older brother, Dick, one year his senior, who was killed in the first world war. Another brother, eight years his junior, also had homosexual inclinations, according to Eric's report, but he was not sure about this. The older brother was undoubtedly of normal feelings. Up to the time of his early end at the age of twenty he had always been interested in girls. Eric, however, described him as a sadist and told how Dick fought with him and frequently knocked him down. Eric frequented the kitchen from choice and to this room Dick would follow him, and whenever their mother was absent, he would seize Eric by the hair and drag him into the living room. Dick despised his younger brother as a "sissy," refused to walk with him in the streets and in playgrounds and even refused to acknowledge him as his brother. He used to catch frogs, too, and torture them with a knife. Eric did not share in these and similar acts; he was the shuddering onlooker.

His was the "negative" of the sadistic perversion. Gory pictures played a considerable role in his overtly meek and mild psychology. One of his preferred phantasies while masturbating was that of the naked body of a drowned girl, washed ashore on a deserted beach. He also tried to persuade me of the existence of a sinister law according to which all people whom he loved had to die. His examples, however, were poor and he was not able to convince me of the validity of this law despite the fact that his brother did indeed die.

It is worthy of note that one of the roots of this development to sado-masochism came from the boy's father. While he had little authority in decisive questions, he regimented the boys and administered corporal punishment which was arranged in a system according to the gravity of the offense. The highest degree called "the slap" meant blows with the open hand. The second degree meant blows with a leather whip on the palm of the hand, the third was application of the whip on the bare buttocks. In this way the father produced stimulation of the anal zone together with sado-masochistic reaction formations of which Eric bore the passive end. He had contracted all possible children's diseases including intestinal troubles with and without fever and an operation for appendicitis at the age of six. He was nursed by his mother in infancy, and was always delicate, so much so, in fact, that he was unable to follow his brother Dick and his comrades in their games. As a result, he became lonesome, a victim of the piety which surrounded him, and even at the age of six he was absent-minded and a day-dreamer.

He remembered dimly that long ago he had been on affectionate terms with his brother Dick. This was when his younger brother was born. At that time they kissed each other, probably under the impression of a common grief over the little sibling intruder. Eric's dreams in analysis, followed by later conscious recollection, showed that they went further than that in mutual sex approach. But this phase of their relationship was forgotten and soon changed into a cat and dog existence. Eric remembers having kissed his brother only once in later years and this was when Dick went to war, never to return.

In the course of his analysis, Eric described three experiences which he called mystical. As they also portray his development from narcissism over heterosexuality back to homosexuality, we may see in them as many pivots of his life. At the age of nine he saw an apparition which he describes as follows:

"The vision came in bright daylight, spontaneously as far as I know, and without any external cause, just when I entered my bedroom, and stood at the foot end of my bed. For a moment I was plunged into a trance of supernatural happiness and light. I saw with my eyes the light which totally enveloped me. Physically also, I felt the highest pleasure and voluptuousness."

To this description of a light hallucination connected with the sensation of orgasm, physically and psychically, he adds that this experience had no lasting influence on him. He even forgot it and remembered it much later when his brother was killed and he had occasion to think of the hereafter and other super-natural phenomena.

We know that Eric's younger brother was born shortly before the vision. We also know that Eric, later a painter, was a visual type. In addition, Eric's intense, almost mediaeval religious education may well be borne in mind. Ecstasy and an expectation of supernatural phenomena belonged to his every day life.

He recalled that the birth of his little brother increased his interest in the origin of babies, the difference of the sexes, and the true relationship between father and mother. At that time his father had to enlighten him with regard to the facts of life. The father, prudish and puritanic, would hardly have engaged in this so early had the boy not insisted with questions. He remembers that in the summer following his brother's birth, he discovered the difference of sexes all by himself, when he saw a country girl urinating. From that time on he had a passionate interest in the genitalia of men and women. This same summer in the country, he saw a bull cover a cow without then realizing the meaning of it.

A hallucination, according to Freud, is the distorted memory of something which once was actually experienced and, instead of being reproduced as a sheer memory, is delusionally re-experienced as a fact.⁽¹⁾ What fact in Eric's case, we may wonder, lay behind his visual experience? Some further study of the factors operating in his psychological development may bring to view material related to this.

No more visions occurred later in his life, yet he reports several occurrences and dreams in which objects suddenly took on a shining light. He remembers a sadistic temptation when on one occasion, holding a

(1) Freud, "Construction in Analysis," *The Int. J. of Psa.*, v. XIX, part 4.

long breadknife in his hand, he had to pass behind an old seamstress. Under the thin hair, parted in the middle, her scalp shone dazzlingly white before his eyes, and he had an almost irresistible impulse to thrust the blade into it. He had to make a forcible exit from the room. At that time he was already in his puberty masturbation which he practiced with phantasies of anonymous, faceless women. It is perhaps not too bold to substitute his mother for the old seamstress. The white scalp, usually completely covered, but in this case shining through thinning hair, was a voyeuristic symbol.

We proceed now to Eric's second mystical experience, one which he refers to as his Beatrice experience (Dante and Beatrice). His confirmation took place when he was fourteen. His religious feelings were whipped up to ecstasy. Heaped on him were bible-school, special individual teaching, parental and familial influences, daily devotional exercises and, in short, a well-nigh endless routine of ritual and prayer. Thus prepared, Eric partook of the Lord's Supper in a state of exaltation. "It was hard for me," he said, "to concentrate on the holy service because I had to look at Eve Guardian. I did not know then that my religious feelings covered my love for this girl. Her I call my Beatrice experience. Eight days before my confirmation her lovely face beamed at me from the midst of a group of girls so suddenly that I was charmed, almost paralyzed. I went home confused and overflowing with joy. Never again have I seen anything as beautiful. Occasionally I walked her brother home, but never did I dare to go up to his apartment. I knew that words would have failed me in her presence. Whenever I met her in the street, by accident or otherwise, I always fell into a kind of trance. These were my festival days. I prayed that later she might become my wife, and continued to believe in the effect of my prayers, even when after some years she did not mean much to me any longer. . ."

The sober observer may not find much deserving of the connotation "mystical" in this "puppy-love" experience. Eric does not tell us in his description, a weak imitation of Dante's *Vita Nova*, that his girl resembled his mother. But such was the case. Again he had the impression of light (her face "beamed at him"), connected with an orgasmic feeling, a confusion between religious and sexual fervor, as in the first mystical experience. The difference is that this time, at the age of puberty, the light emanated from a girl comparable to a halo, while in the vision beheld before the age of ten, the aureole was glory in itself.

A few years after his Beatrice experience—the girl's real name, Eve Guardian, is strikingly reminiscent both of the *mother* of mankind and of the Guardian Angel—he fell in love with another girl with whom he exchanged timid declarations of affection and most decent caresses which culminated in a kiss on her hand. Even this, however, was too much. His mother discovered a naïve love letter which he had intended to send his beloved, tore it to pieces, and with oratory and threats the irate matron nipped in the bud this nascent love. Earthly love was a sin, and must be extinguished.

Although his brother Dick was raised under the same dictum, he was able to disregard the wishes of his mother and aunt and to escape, to some extent, their influence and he succeeded in living more of an outdoor existence. If we may call Eric the saint of the family, Dick we may consider the pagan. At the outbreak of the first world war Eric was seventeen and Dick eighteen, both too young for regular military service. Two years later Dick was drafted and sent to the front where shortly thereafter he was killed. Eric, during that period of time, was occupied in a defense industry and was never actually called to the colors. After his brother's death for the fatherland, Eric gradually lost interest in women but masturbated with phantasies of boys and plunged into all kinds of mystical practices on his way to overt homosexuality.

When the family was notified of Dick's death Eric's first reaction was one of deliverance. The superman was gone, he whose unrivalled excellence had overshadowed Eric's life. Dick had been stronger, smarter, better looking, more successful with girls, and even at home, in spite of Eric's obedience and piety, more popular than Eric. Moreover, there remained with Eric a dim memory that Dick had betrayed him. Eric's longing for a different and more desirable relationship with Dick, a relationship such as had existed a long time since, had aroused an ambivalent feeling in him of which one part was satisfied when the brother died.

A new phase began when Eric met a young man of his brother's age who became his best friend, a substitute for Dick. Robert Lang, his new friend, was perfectly heterosexual as Dick had been. He succeeded in separating Eric from his family and its religious shackles. "Pagan sensuousness" emanated from Lang and took hold of our mystic, if we can trust his report. Lang was a *Wandervogel* (migratory or wandering bird). He belonged to a movement organized after the example of the British Boy Scouts but, after the German tendency, made more profound, more mystical and related to the past.

Eric had been a baroque type of man before. His religious background had been colored by witchcraft, heresy, fasting, flagellation and visions of hellfire. Later he became interested in astrology and mused over his horoscope and the signs of the Zodiac. Now we see him a German Wandervogel. The idea of the Wandervogel differed from that of the Boy Scout movement organized by Sir Baden-Powell in that the Boy Scout prepared for good citizenship while the Wandervogel, like the Boy Scout in age-group, between childhood and adolescence, was taught that youth was a value in itself, something static to be filled with a deeper meaning. The now notorious word *Kultur* was used for these juvenile groups who felt themselves to represent the physical and spiritual Kultur of youth. They let their hair grow long, cultivated mediaeval folksongs, country dances, natural (non-sexual) friendships between boys and girls, did not think it wrong to bathe naked, threw the javelin, wore old-fashioned clothes, and used obsolete words in their speech. The best part of their activities were their excursions over mountains and valleys, when they went singing and trying to feel the "beauty of their existence as youth." As always in Germany, the movement found its own philosophers. Best known among them was Gustav Wyneken who developed his principles in a typically obscure and rhapsodic language easily unmasked as ill disguised homosexuality.

The danger of the Boy Scout is that he plays the adult while he is still a child. This is not ordinarily a danger of any magnitude since to play is the child's natural occupation, and the game only anticipates what has to come anyway. The Wandervogel, however, proved to be more dangerous. Instead of looking forward, they looked back into the nation's past and back into their own infantile paradise as well and tried to make what might have been merely a passing phase of their evolution an aim in itself. They were a hotbed of homosexuality.

Eric was twenty years old at the time of his initiation into the Wandervogel and much too old for this movement. In other respects, also, he no longer belonged to a childhood rejoicing in dance and song. Awkward, pale, gloomy, overtowering them all, he sang and danced with them non-the-less. He wished to remain a child among children because he could not accept the place of his brother. In his world, his brother had been the man and he the (feminine) child. He was too discouraged to grow into manhood, and, in addition, he was held back by his relationship to his mother. Robert Lang, his new brother, provided him with the Wandervogel opportunity, a childhood environment in which even a man of twenty was occasionally accepted. Once in this group,

there was no longer any help against the outbreak of overt inversion. He fell in love with several boys in succession, at first without knowing that his sex urge had become perverted. Three more years were to elapse before his first sexual act with boys occurred.

Through his friend Lang he had become a "pagan," not in reality, of course, but most decidedly he was one of those fidgety, latent homosexuals looking around for a world of their own, joining various radical movements only to leave each after a short time. The war was over, and for a while the Communists, active in Germany under the name of Spartacus, attracted him. The Spartacus movement—started during the war by the unfortunate Liebknecht, was romantic, secret, and the members often held their meetings in the woods. They called themselves after the Roman slave who, in 73 B. C., organized a great but unsuccessful revolt of the slaves. In spite of this German brand of Communism which predicted its own fate by its very choice of name, they were too rational, or should we say too heterosexual, for Eric, and he changed his allegiance to Dadaism, another movement popular at the time which survives in America in the shape and under the name of Surrealism and in the poems of Gertrude Stein. The dadaists—most of them in sympathy with the communists—demanded of their adherents that they renounce all logic. The movement was called dada after the babbling of a baby. Eric came from Spartacus to Dadaism as had many other young people who felt that there was more fun in breaking down bourgeois morale, positivism, rational arrogance and self-assurance by smashing all logical ties and the negation of anything serious than in building up a dialectic world of the future. We can see this fun even today in the exhibitions of Dali and in the effusions of Gertrude Stein, one of the shrewdest women of our time. In Germany, however, dada became a religion and prophets inevitably sprang forth. They took their tenets from Freud by turning his theory upside down. Freud said that we should enthrone the mind in the place of blind instincts; they said that the mind should be drowned in the waves of the Id.

Eric did not long remain faithful to dada either. He declared that complete relaxation (by the ultimate detachment from the power of logic) was beyond him. Even in this unholy field we are strangely reminded of certain lofty words: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of Heaven."

Eric had painted heretofore, and in the excited days after the war he became an *expressionist* and a painter of abstracts. Abstractions assumed profound and exciting meaning for him. He had erections when

looking at abstract art, never in front of objective paintings, no matter how many nude figures they represented. We recognize unconscious phantasies aroused by colors, vague lines and spirals. Nude figures were either females, in which case they could no longer arouse him at this period, or they were males, in which case he did not yet permit himself to be aroused—he had not yet switched over. In this dilemma, abstract art suited him best and sexualized him. He was of course not conscious of this analytical explanation. Here again heavy books on abstract art full of teutonic nebulosity had to explain what Blueher, Wyneken, et al, had prepared. Whatever Eric approached had to end in mysticism; he could not strike roots in the world of reality.

Many prophets thrived in Germany before Hitler and Rosenberg united them under one common banner. One of them, Doctoctor M., founded a kind of "Platonic Academy" for a "selected clientele." The curriculum was curiously complex, combining rhythmic gymnastics with philosophy, religious "mystology," literature, drawing, anatomy and—*mirabile dictu*—psychoanalysis. M. harmonized body and soul in his powerful speeches and Eros and Logos, the good and evil, as well. The evil, for example, was good if practiced for the purpose of contrasting it with the good, and vice versa, revealed with glib sophistry. M. celebrated — with words only — the old Egyptian mysteries which were, according to this lecturer, cannibalistic orgies. To eat from the human body meant to be at one with his soul. The victim of the sacrificial murder was also sexually abused by the priest, pederasted while he was dying. In this moment, his soul, in touch with the beyond, granted a communion of the priest's soul with celestial powers, the flesh became united with the divine. In this way Dr. M., according to Eric, thrust open doors of the soul which were otherwise locked.

We remember the sacrificial death of Eric's brother on the battlefield and understand something of the deep impression of Doctor M's words on Eric. He felt that M. abolished the partition between visible and invisible worlds. Deepest knowledge of the essence of things filled Eric physically with voluptuous prickling, a sadomasochistic and homosexual orgy relieved by the teacher's words. We begin to realize the gory nature of these orgies, the smell of blood and murder secretly connected with this kind of nebulosity.

In spite of all this mysticism, M. was too secular, and in the end not profound enough for Eric. This restless soul in search of and at the same time fearful of homosexual satisfaction was wandering from prophet to prophet. In a nearby town he met a man, formerly a missionary

in East India, who built up a combination of Christ's love with the high Indian religions. *Sub specie aeternitatis*, he was greater and stronger than M. He specialized in analyzing the mystical experiences of the great founders of religions and of saints, and in this way advancing to the real fountain heads of all religious wisdom and beatitude.

After about three years, while still going with the Wandervogel, Eric underwent the third of his so-called mystical experiences. His first experience of this sort had been the vision of light, when he was about nine, the second, his Beatrice experience with Eve Guardian, when he was fourteen. The third, which he called his Absalom experience, occurred when he was twenty-three. Absalom was a boy ten or twelve years old who, as Eric reported, resembled closely in feature and figure as well as in complexion and color of hair the boy Eric himself had been at that age. He died before the flowering of a real friendship and Eric felt only after his death how madly he had fallen in love with him, in love with a dead boy. He mourned him to an extent that made him physically ill, a case of deferred mourning with the roles changed. He had not mourned his brother at the time of his death. Three or four years later he realized that he was in love with a dead boy and mourned the Absalom whom he had scarcely known during his lifetime. On the other hand, this little boy stood for Eric himself, having been his double in appearance. His own boyhood was dead, no power on earth could revive it, neither the Wandervogel movement which he had definitely outgrown, nor the babbling dada which tried to change adults into babies, nor M's cannibalistic, sacrificial mysteries. Eric's last attempt was a mystical union with Absalom's soul. There is in this story little of real experience. He became aware of his love only after his object's death, which was the condition of this love. The contemporary German poet, Stephan George, whom Eric admired, dedicated a number of love poems to Maximine, a beautiful youth who had died. George was homosexual but his disciples, a large and arrogant crowd, always grew indignant when anybody mentioned this without adding what a sublime, unique and profoundly German brand, George's love for boys had been: a cosmogonic world-creating kind of homosexuality, the apotheosis of Eros.

After his Absalom experience, Eric became overtly homosexual and had relations exclusively with boys. His first boy he called Parsifal, the others he also called by romantic names. He was not happy but productive—he wrote poetry and painted. Again and again he painted naked boys floating in mid-air or seated on lonely rocks. The

compositions always portrayed one boy surrounded by obscure symbols. It was always Absalom or, as he realized later, himself at that age. He dreamed of the beloved one and worshipped him, all pleasure and all grief stemmed from him. Looking at one of his many paintings we understood Eric's mysticism beyond any doubt. He saw in his paintings the ascension of a boy to a mystic union. We cannot argue with the artist and his interpretation. We saw, however, that it was also the representation of birth: a child emerging from a dark depth. Numerous genital symbols could be recognized on both sides of the figure. The main figure contained penis presentations in part as well as in totality. A light glory surrounding the main figure explained Eric's bright vision at the age of nine after his brother's birth. This highly religious boy, familiar with the story of the birth of Christ, experienced the glory and splendor of his union with mother, his rebirth. We may translate his vision with the words: "He saw the light of day," (in German, "to see the light of the world") a somewhat poetic expression for being born.

His Absalom experience initiated his definite change to homosexuality in which Absalom was Eric's ideal ego while he himself, discarding Robert Lang as brother substitute, began to play his brother Dick himself, treating Absalom the way he wished Dick had treated him. Mystical union also meant to him union with his brother. As Dick was dead, he had either to come back from that unknown country or Eric must go thither. Both of these possibilities, or rather, impossibilities, were carried out. Eric achieved a metamorphosis into his brother. As Dick had died at the age of twenty, Eric did not wish to get any older than nineteen when himself, or twenty when Dick. He tried to make time stand still. His longing for Dick made Eric also send Absalom to his brother in Heaven in a number of his paintings all portraying the same subject. All these constructions were too unreal to survive. They made Eric restless and drove him towards overt homosexuality with boys in the flesh, always younger than nineteen, representing himself, while he was Dick.

The main reason for Eric's leaving his home town was—this was discovered through his dreams—his fear that he might succumb to temptation of seducing his younger brother which, in his thinking, was identical with killing him. He ran away from this possibility. His sex partners then, were not only himself in projection, but also substitutes for his younger brother who was nineteen years old when Eric ran away which also was his age at the time of Dick's death.

The prognosis of this case appeared good from the beginning because of the relatively advanced age which marked the outbreak of overt homosexuality and because of the unsatisfactory success which Eric met with in his sexual exploits. The case is of the type which Freud described as based on brother rivalry after a pathological attachment to the mother. (Collected Papers, volume 2, p. 241-243).

SUMMARY

Anal eroticism constitutionally increased and overstimulated by early experiences — Fixation on his mother in an aura of religious fervor — Fixation on a superior older brother, rejection by this brother after an affectionate relationship of short duration — Many attempts to get rid of these fixations: visions and illusions, Spartacus, dada, expressionism, abstract painting, poetry, the "Platonic Academy," Buddha-Christianism, Wandervogel, Stephan George and, finally, outbreak of homosexuality. His analysis, although incomplete, enabled him to attain to heterosexuality again after his insight into the meaning of all these "Stations of the Cross," particularly when he realized the danger of corrupting his younger brother. He returned to Nuremberg, his native town, and continued our work by successfully analyzing himself until he fell in love with a girl whom a few years later he married.

II.

We may proceed from the individual analysis of Eric to a study of group psychology, or, rather, the psychology of a nation.

We have reasons for assuming that the difference of nations originate in their different educations. National education may be retraced for centuries and many elements combine in its intricate formation. National education depends in part on the very soil on which a nation lives, on the economic conditions under which national existence continues, depends on the great men, the leaders and teachers of a nation and on great national experiences as well. It is interdependent on all of these and on other factors as well, and the strength of these influences culminates in a stable national type which cannot be changed either by force or by gentle persuasion. An individual once removed from the midst of a nation, on the other hand, may quite readily acquire the characteristics of any other nation provided he became subject to a different national education while still young and pliable. If this

change does not succeed in one generation, we may be certain that it will succeed in two. Countless instances have been available to demonstrate that there can be no question of difference of blood or race. We face the socio-psychological problem of educational units, of national characteristics which can no longer be overlooked by psychoanalysis. Analytic studies of Germans, Frenchmen, Russians, and others, may profit from the methods of graphology concerning individual handwriting vs. the characters taught in the elementary schools of a given country. Psychology, unfortunately, in this respect, is not as far advanced as graphology; we do not yet have scientific and unequivocal psychological descriptions of national vs. individual characteristics. We must, perforce, use the utmost precaution and must compare again and again in attempting to differentiate national and individual education.

If any individual were to advocate Nazi ideology unsupported by the might of millions of believers, psychiatrists would unhesitatingly diagnose Dementia Paranoides. Megalomania would be confirmed while ideas of persecution and pathological cruelty would complete the paranoid system. Yet we are lacking one essential point for the definite diagnosis of a psychosis, namely, the perplexed loneliness of the patient, the absence of understanding in the environment of the megalomaniac. In the case of a nation educated in any national system, there is no room for psychiatry; the role of the latter is at an end even before it began. Systematized ideas of grandeur and persecution change to the legitimate philosophy of a nation. The threat of an asylum for the insane ceases to exist. In the same way, killing, when carried out in war is no longer deemed a crime and the cruelty of a government is not given the name of perversion.

The analyses of individual German patients from the decades immediately preceeding Hitlerian Germany throw some light on these problems of a national education and of a German psychology. One question may be anticipated: What defense mechanisms were offered these patients against their feminine component, that always most dreaded spectre? The specific education in a particular civilization places different possibilities of defense at the command of its adherents. We have seen in Eric's case a few of these cardboard constructions.

Young men in Germany after the end of the first world war were called "the lost generation." While an economically minded world made the widespread unemployment responsible for the general despair, one always felt the depressing loss of long cherished ideals, ideas and

hopes for which there was no compensation to be seen. Eric's family was pious, and such religious ideals as they represented had become quite rare in his country. Churches in Berlin and the other Protestant towns were far from crowded. Bismarck still expressed his satisfaction over the demonstrative piety of his soldiers. Hindenburg himself was a pious churchgoer. But not so the generation of soldiers he commanded or their relatives in the hinterland. The lack of faith of his generation proved stronger and detached Eric from the Augsburg Confession. A strong religious faith supported and sustained by a faithful congregation can help a man struggling against the terror of his feminine component (castration fear) but Eric—and his entire generation with him—had to seek elsewhere for defense.

A bulwark of comparable strength could not be found in war-defeated Germany. The categorical imperative of duty, patriotic duty, symbolized in Prussia-Germany by the goose-step and by heel-clicking had become temporarily meaningless by the demilitarization of the Reich. The younger Germans devoted themselves to radical political parties which promised a better future. They read with religious awe the philosophers and poets who came closer and closer to homosexuality. Those who had artistic inclinations devoted themselves to expressionism, abstract painting, dadaism; they looked back to the romantic Middle-Ages as had their ancestors one hundred years before and anything mystical was eagerly acclaimed. All these tendencies and their relation to homosexuality have been described in Eric's history. It was his restlessness, we saw, which drove him and many thousands of his contemporaries from one movement to the next. Not one fulfilled what it had seemed to promise, none could permanently appease the castration fear.

Similar daydreaming and roaming in groups exist not only in Germany, we know, but everywhere. There are havens for mild paranoiacs all over. In America numerous religious sects flourish, all with the common aim of overcoming anxiety. But only in Germany do they so closely approach overt homosexuality. Powerful and nationally recognized philosophers, poets and musicians such as Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Richard Wagner, Stephen George and his school, glorified the male in exalted creations and taught their nation to hold woman in contempt, especially woman in the role of a sexual love object. Well known is Schopenhauer's venomous essay: "On the Females," Nietzsche's aphorism: "On your way to woman? Don't forget your whip!" Furthermore, Wagner's last and sacred opera, *Parsifal*, is

the apotheosis of a covenant of men who reject women as the devil's tempting emissaries. As an object of sexual worship women were of little importance among the great German thinkers. Compared with this almost patterned education of a nation, continued for centuries, the influence of a Walt Whitman in America or an Oscar Wilde in England appears almost negligible. In Germany, the latent homosexual is proud of his mystical activities, boasts a particular grandeur and is convinced of his persecution by women or their substitutes—the Jews.

Recent history of Germany shows that all these collective mechanisms proved not strong enough to satisfy for lack of one factor which religious times as well as Prussianism had provided—namely, *coercion*. But then came Hitler, their God-sent Fuehrer—and gave them what they missed: ideas of grandeur, of persecution, of cruelty and death were enforced upon them. All the little sects vanished like ghosts in bright daylight. Hitler and Rosenberg told their followers what to think, to feel, to do. The content of their diatribes was negligible provided the Germans were again under coercion; they found a new religion embodying the goose-step and the heel-click. Now they could be real men, their feminine component used up in coercion and in blind worship of the leader, not only the supreme leader of the Reich, but the next superior to whom each had to submit. Germans look silly indeed with all their Nazi mannerisms. But at the same time they are terribly smart and efficient because they separate “silliness” from reality as does the hard eyed business man who sings his Sunday hymns in Church, once weekly, in order to harden himself for six working weekdays.

There was something in German education which helped to prepare the people for Hitler. He came to his generation as a savior, rescuing from castration fear the sorely threatened, restless, seeking youth of the twenties, the so-called “lost generation,” of whom Eric is an outstanding example. Hitler saved them from that mild paranoia which the German, because of his education, is particularly apt to seize upon as a defense mechanism against latent homosexuality. Germans of Eric's stamp suffered from this mild form of insanity for which their language has two untranslatable terms: *Weltanschauung* and *Schwaermerei*. In the brains of thousands there existed something, harmless in itself and often even lovable, but dangerous when united and directed to the common goal of destruction and domination. I should like to

call this condition *German Paranoia*.^{*} Its victims elude the asylum because they celebrate in groups. At one end of their struggle, as Eric's history reveals, overt homosexuality lies in wait while at the other end there stalks a Hitler, saving them in his monstrous way. There is no doubt that German Paranoia will reappear after Hitler's downfall. It will then be the task of more fortunate nations to have an eye on those desperate daydreamers who cannot live in the normal realms of happiness because they are not sufficiently heterosexual. It is here that the reeducation of a nation will have to begin. These dubious types, full of *Weltanschauung* and *Schwaermerei*, must not again become the leaders of the nation. Perhaps a greater understanding of the nature and manifestations of defense mechanisms against homosexuality will make the great majority of the nation laugh these would-be-leaders off the speaker's platform.

* It should not be superfluous to add here that I do not wish to imply that all Germans, or even a very considerable number of them, suffered from what I have termed German Paranoia. Reasoning similarly, not all Germans nor even a considerable percentage of them suffer from German measles. A disease acquires a geographical name either because of its origin, Cholera Asiatica, Spanish Grippe, for example, or because authors assume that the disease finds its most favorable conditions for growth in a given country. For instance, syphilis was for years known as the French disease. There was a time when for the same reason homosexuality was called the German vice, until, in fact, it became more than probable that homosexuality also met with good conditions for growth in other countries.

And in one last word, this paper does not aim to argue for or against the Germans. It may very well be that the great accomplishments of the Germans, their music, philosophical systems, organizing power, their scientific frenzy and their academic life, all have some of their roots in the same but here successful struggles against homosexuality.

SOME NOTES ON APACHE CRIMINALITY*

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The criminological significance of the handful of data about to be presented lies precisely in the fact that they are extremely meager. Such as they are, they seem to represent the sum total of recent criminal behavior on the Mescalero-Chiricahua Apache Reservation. This tribe, particularly during the leadership of Geronimo, had acquired a well-nigh universal reputation for violence and blood-shed. Since the Chiricahua of today are neither squelched nor de-Indianized, the low incidence of criminality proper provides us with an exceptionally illuminating instance of the causative function of the social structure in criminal behavior.

The present-day Chiricahua situation is also interesting in another respect. Side by side with the near-absence of criminality proper, we find a high incidence of picayune misdemeanors, such as drunkenness and fornication, which fill the reservation jails over the week-end.

The roots of this situation are purely historical, and hence must be interpreted in historical terms.

The pacification of the raiding Chiricahua began with the wholesale imprisonment of the tribe in Florida and later in Oklahoma, and their subsequent return to their native habitat in New Mexico. In order to insure the continuation of peaceful relations between the Apache and the whites, the United States Government has attempted, ever since the liberation of the tribe and their return to New Mexico, to provide them with a socio-economic security system so complete as to reduce to

* The field-data on which this article is based were collected by Dr. Loeb during a field-trip in 1941.

naught any temptation to return to the old pattern of raiding. The Apache are practical people and they adjusted themselves readily to a pattern of existence which enabled them to retain the basic features of Apache life while benefiting at the same time by the material advantages of western civilization. The factors making for criminality under purely aboriginal conditions disappeared, while the social pressure making for conformity continued to function, except in one respect: the legal abolition of the practice of cutting off the nose of the adulterous wife. Cruel as this custom was, it insured to a certain extent the stability of polygynous marriages in aboriginal times, and its persistence would have continued to insure the stability of monogamous marriages in modern times, particularly as regards marriage between schooled Indians, which means: between Indians freed from the restraints of the native code, but at the same time insufficiently sensitized to white codes. Social pressure insured the virginity of the Apache maiden up to the time of her marriage, and thus conditioned her to fidelity. On the other hand the Apache girl of today attends boarding school and is no longer under direct pressure and control from her geographically remote but socially proximate in-group. Hence, despite the technically efficient, but psychologically ineffectual control on the part of her white teachers and disciplinarians—remote in terms of social distance, though proximate in geographical terms⁽¹⁾—she tends to acquire habits of sexual laxity previous to marriage, which continue to influence her behavior subsequent to marriage. Case History I illustrates the practical implications of this situation in terms of conduct.

The high incidence of petty misdemeanors on the other hand seems due to the fact that the Apache tribal law-code, formulated no doubt under pressure from, and influenced by, the missionaries, labels as misdemeanors a large number of modes of conduct which to the native of the old school are not morally reprehensible, except as regards fornication between unmarried persons. The fact that fornication—morally reprehensible to Apache mentality—does occur frequently, may be attributed partly to the abolishing of polygyny and to later marriages on the one hand, and on the other to the breakdown of aboriginal types of control as regards the young. Be that as it may, the frequency of misdemeanors among the otherwise law-abiding Chiricahua once more illustrates the futility of passing laws which do not have the force of the mores behind them. It also confirms the view that "crime is what the law calls crime."

We now propose to describe three cases of criminal behavior:

CASE HISTORY I

A Mescalero woman lost her husband a number of years ago through death. That same night, instead of mourning for the deceased, she sat up in her tipi, drinking with several men. Eventually she became "dead drunk" and the "men piled on top of her." Her deceased husband's sister happened to enter her tipi just in time to observe the proceedings. Outraged by this flouting of tribal customs she seized her drunken sister-in-law and cut off her nose with a knife. In the morning the cut-off nose was dry and an attempt was made to replace it on the woman's face, but the attempt was not successful.

This case presents some distinctly unusual features.

The first and most obvious one is the conduct of the widow, which does not, however, stand in need of a great deal of explanation. It can be readily understood in terms of Freud's analysis of mourning⁽²⁾ particularly when this analysis is completed—with special reference to primitive society—in the form proposed by one of us in a previous paper.⁽⁸⁾

Far more unusual is the behavior of the sister-in-law. In Apache custom only the husband is supposed to inflict this type of punishment on his faithless wife, and it should be remembered that this type of punishment is at present outlawed and constitutes assault and battery. Be that as it may, even under aboriginal law the sister-in-law had no right to mutilate her brother's faithless wife, though it is perhaps open to debate whether in this particular instance the widow's potential husbands under the levirate system—i. e. her deceased husband's brothers—would not have been entitled to mutilate her. The question arises: What factors induced the justly indignant sister-in-law to punish illegally the widow for her illegal act? The probable answer may be found in the fact that for some time after the decease of a person, he is not truly a ghost, but merely a "dead soul." Stretching a point of logic, the man was not quite dead as yet when the infidelity took place, although his body was certainly without life. Hence we suggest that the sister-in-law simply identified herself with the deceased and acted as the deceased might have acted had he entered the tipi at that time. The

sister-in-law's crime was, in brief, the legitimate behavior of a dead man, criminally enacted by a living person. This interpretation dovetails with the view that crime is inherently "morally neutral behavior," which becomes criminal when performed by the wrong person or when it occurs in the wrong situation.

CASE HISTORY II

In 1940, about four or five months before Dr. Loeb reached the Reservation, a Chiricahua man, P., murdered another Apache during a drunken brawl. The victim too was drunk at that time and "acted mean," and therefore P. killed him by hitting him on the head with a ceremonial drum. P. received a life-sentence in the penitentiary.

The only noteworthy feature of this murder—said to be the first murder in 28 years to take place on that reservation—is the fact that the lethal weapon was a ceremonial drum. The utter disrespect shown this important ceremonial object in using it for a crime of violence shows with unusual clarity the disintegration of native institutions, and particularly of that segment of institutions which Chapin⁽⁴⁾ terms "attitudes and behavior-patterns." It might be noted in passing that the fact that attitudes and behavior-patterns are usually the first to disintegrate, explains the tendency of formerly functional institutions to become mere shells of formalism and of material interests.

CASE HISTORY III.

X., son of Y. the chief shaman of the Chiricahua, was, on a complaint filed by a missionary of the Z. church, sentenced to 4-6 years in prison on a charge of bigamy. It was proven against X that he had filed with the missionary a fraudulent affidavit in which he stated that he was unmarried, and thus induced the missionary to marry him to a second wife.

This case requires extensive comment. It should be noted first of all that the Chiricahua were polygynous in aboriginal times, although at present polygyny is illegal among them. It cannot be shown, however, that the passing of this law in favor of monogamy has the backing

of the mores and that it is psychologically introjected and accepted.

More significant is the fact that by virtue of Chapter III, Section 3 of the "Code of the Mescalero Apache Tribe"⁽⁵⁾ (also adhered to by the Chiricahua Apache) "Indian Custom" marriages and divorces are no longer legally recognized. Marriages, in order to be legal, must be performed in accordance with the laws of the State of New Mexico, though "Indian Custom" marriages do not seem to be interfered with. Divorces, on the other hand, may be secured before the Chiricahua Tribal Court for specified reasons, enumerated in the aforementioned tribal code.

Legally the whole situation is open to debate. We can, in all seriousness, raise the question whether a marriage sanctioned under the laws of New Mexico can legally be dissolved or even annulled by the Indian Tribal Court which cannot possibly have a legal standing under the New Mexico State Constitution and Statutes. We may furthermore raise serious doubts regarding the constitutionality of the tribal law which limits recognition to marriages sanctioned under the laws of New Mexico and denies such recognition to marriages sanctioned by Apache custom and religious law. This section of the Code may constitute a violation of the U. S. Constitutional guarantee of religious freedom, and it should be recalled that the registered Indians are Federal wards exempt in many respects from State supervision. It is suggested that this section of the code may have been enacted under both political and missionary pressure.

From the practical angle it is however only fair to point out that functionally this requirement has a certain justification. The abolishing of the nose-mutilation of adulterous wives did undermine the stability of marriages, even of monogamous ones, and some new means had to be devised to preserve the family as the cornerstone of Apache social structure.

It should be observed, however, that, according to tribal gossip, the missionary had partly been motivated by personal motives. The Apache pointed out that Y., the father of X., the bigamist, made a practice of performing the rites of the imported new cult called "The Four Cross Religion" in a house adjoining the missionary's church, and that he seemed to take a special pleasure in performing this type of worship at a time when religious services were taking place in church. This is said to have greatly annoyed the missionary. The missionary was also reputed to have been irritated by Y's insistence on wearing his hair long, according to old Apache custom.

While we cannot absolve Y. from the charge of deliberately competing with the missionary, and perhaps of taking a sly pleasure in annoying him, we cannot but raise once more the question of the constitutional right of religious freedom. Voluminous—and depressing—documentary evidence suggests that missionaries still tend to think of the Religious Freedom clause of the Bill of Rights in far too eclectic terms. According to Professor Priest⁽⁶⁾ some missionaries once demanded that the Government suppress Indian Religion by force, insisting that the Bill of Rights guarantees applied only to Christian religion. A recent sample of this mentality was the effort to declare that peyote (*lophophora williamsii* and *anhalonium lewinii*), an important sacrament of many tribal religions as well as of the Native American Church Inc. (incorporated under the laws of the State of Oklahoma), was a narcotic, as defined by the so-called Harrison Act, and, as such, illegal. The Indian Office rightly ruled that peyote was not a narcotic as defined in the Harrison Act, since it is neither deleterious nor habit-forming. It is regrettable that the Indian Office did not at the same time raise the issue of religious freedom, even though one of the anthropologists consulted by the Office specifically mentioned this issue in his statement.

A statement of policy on this score would have been desirable, since the missionaries who wished to have peyote declared a narcotic rightly insisted during prohibition on obtaining wine for the Sacrament. Nothing in this paragraph should be construed as raising questions regarding that section of the Apache Code which now prohibits the manufacture of the native alcoholic beverage "tizwin," which has no religious functions, and whose unlicensed manufacture violates the U. S. Internal Revenue Act.

SUMMARY

Criminal behavior is rare among the Chiricahua Apache, partly because their socio-economic situation is not conducive to criminal behavior, and partly because the old social control still operates in the moral sphere of larger issues. Only one of the three crimes reported suggests any appreciable disregard for old proprieties (i. e. the criminal use of a ceremonial drum), while the two other cases illustrate either culture-conflict or reversion to aboriginal patterns now illegal (nose-slitting and bigamy). Yet even in these cases we find traces of modern influence: The fact that the nose-splitting was performed by the sister-

in-law who had no legal standing in this matter, and the fact of the fraudulent affidavit, in a tribe which is adverse to verbal deceit.⁽⁷⁾

The frequency of petty misdemeanours, on the other hand, is due to the fact that the code, enacted presumably under White pressure to enforce a White man's notions of the proprieties, has no genuine backing in the mores. The sections of the code just mentioned illustrate the American tendency, ridiculed by Prof. R. E. Park,⁽⁸⁾ to seek relief from strain by the passing of unenforceable laws. In this particular instance the use of legislation as a social nostrum is especially deplorable, since the spirit of the laws passed is itself basically alien to the group to which it applies, and does not afford *them* the "relief" referred to by Park.

The continued enforcing of these sections of the Code is likely to demoralize the Apache, principally by inducing them to look upon a few days in jail simply in the light of a "hang-over" following some pleasurable activity, thus depriving imprisonment, even for anti-social acts, of any deeper psychological significance. Even if this indifference toward a term in jail should not occur—which is improbable—the alternative possibility is even more to be feared: It might bring about a sense of oppression, which is conducive to crime, or else might cause the person imprisoned for drunkenness or fornication to think of himself as a hardened criminal, and to develop a conception of his social self in harmony with this social definition of his behavior and personality. One of us has shown elsewhere that such a conception of one's self is one of the most potent motivating factors behind criminal behavior.⁽⁹⁾

FOOTNOTES

1. DEVEREUX, G. Motivation and Control of Crime. *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*. 3:553-584, 1942.
2. FREUD, S. Mourning and Melancholia. *Collected Papers*. 4:152-170, London, 1925.
3. DEVEREUX, G. Social Structure and the Economy of Affective Bonds. *Psychoanalytic Review*. 29:303-314, 1942.
4. CHAPIN, F. S. *Contemporary American Institutions*. New York, 1935.
5. *Code of the Mescalero Apache Tribe* (Approved November 20, 1937). Printing Department. Haskell Institute: Lawrence, Kansas, 1938. (41 pp.)
6. PRIEST, L. B. *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*. New Brunswick, N. J., 1942.
7. GOODWIN, G. *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*. Chicago, 1942. (cf. pp. 555-556. The Chiricahua situation is the same in this respect).
8. PARK, R. E. quoted in Sutherland, E. H. *Principles of Criminology* (3rd ed.) Chicago 1939.
9. DEVEREUX, G. Motivation and Control of Crime. *op. cit.*

MASOCHISTIC MOTIVATIONS IN CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR*

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Criminal acts are generally regarded in terms of unlawful individual aggression against the community, which in turn employs certain lawful retaliative aggression against the offender. This conventionalized attitude of the community in dealing with the wayward member is what we call criminal justice.

As members of the community, we tend to share in common *righteous* anxiety aroused by the criminal act, as if in some way the act is an offense against us individually, and such anxiety engenders within us hostile feelings against the offender, whom we would personally desire to punish. However, we are obliged to forego the impulse for direct revenge and by agreement we delegate the business to public functionaries with whom we may identify ourselves and on whom, at the same time, we confer a sanction which enables them without a reproving conscience to impose pain upon the offender and even to destroy him.

The fact remains that in this process we participate in the punishment of the offender in a sublimated fashion, and attain the same, if not a more satisfactory measure of ego gain as if direct personal revenge were achieved. The collective aggression of the community—this may be called public sentiment, or indignation, or wrath—is mediated largely through newspapers, which enable not only the injured parties but also vicariously the entire community to participate in the drama of justice.

This drama is the daily externalized central inner conflict of every person in the social group; that is, the ever compelling problem of good and evil; of staying good and of combating evil. We combat evil by projecting it on the world outside ourselves and particularly on other persons, thus attaining a denial of it in ourselves. By his act the criminal objectifies evil—it no longer is abstract but concretely personified. The criminal thus becomes a scapegoat for the entire law-abiding group

* Read before The Philadelphia Psychiatric Society, Philadelphia, October 9, 1942.

which loses its interest in the individual as soon as the criminal act, the apprehension, the trial and announcement of punishment are over, only to pass to the next case. Singularly enough, evil is thus punished in effigy, and in a tenuous sense, the criminal lives out a service of value to society. (*Nemo sine crimine vivit*).

It would seem that one of the important factors of criminal justice is universal participation. In traditional reflection this is the factor of deterrence and threat, but I think most of us will agree that the threat of punishment seemingly does not greatly influence a reduction of criminal activity, and there are some who point out that punishment may be an inducement to crime.

It is this aspect of criminality which brings me to the central theme of this paper; that is, masochistic motives.

Masochism is generally defined as a striving for sexual satisfaction through suffering, and identifies certain sexual perversions. Our interest, however, is in the larger area of behavior in which is reflected an attitude toward life that forces the ego to a submissiveness and passivity, and inflicts defeats, privations, and misfortunes. This is the phenomenon called "moral masochism," which hypothetically is said to be obscurely linked with sexuality. Some authors think of masochism in terms of a striving for satisfaction; thus Alexander (Psychoanalysis and the Total Personality, 1935) suggests that some people take suffering upon themselves in order to live out certain forbidden impulses. Wittels (Fritz Wittels, "The Mystery of Masochism," Psychoanalytic Review, 1937) asserts that "the masochist wishes to prove the futility of one part of his personality in order to live the more secure in the other part. He derives pleasure from the pain felt by the other figure." Others have formulated masochism as essentially a striving for the relinquishment of the self, representing to a great extent a special way of gaining safety. Fromm ("Escape from Freedom," 1941) emphasizes that the real aim in masochism is not suffering, but "the forgetting of one's self," and that masochistic drives are paradoxically linked with sadistic drives as well; and also that both are blended in destructiveness. Fromm epitomizes such strivings by saying that they "tend to help the individual to escape unbearable feelings of aloneness and powerlessness, of which the individual is not always conscious, but are masqueraded by feelings of perfection and eminence. The individual is caught between the desire for independence and strength, and the feelings of insignificance. By reducing himself to nothing he may succeed in reducing his awareness of the self.

To feel utterly small and helpless, to be overwhelmed by the effects of intoxication are means of attaining relief of the conflict. Suicidal fantasy is the last hope of obliterating one's self."

Again, it is to be emphasized that the suffering is not the primary aim, but the price one pays for the aim, which one impulsively tries to attain. The price is dear and the masochist pays more and more and gets further into debt without getting what he bargains for—inner tranquility.

The role the masochist plays is one he believes to be his own. Often it is not his decision but a "having" to want to do the thing, a submission to an inner compulsion to achieve satisfaction, a relief from tension or anxiety, a relief by being treated as a child, scolded and humiliated, by being physically abused (and here one is reminded of the third degree police procedures), and thrown into restraint (prison, if you please), and ostracized.

I cannot answer the question why some people are attracted by and tend to incur what we all go to such length to avoid—pain and suffering, but I think we can find a fruitful area of exploration in our contemporary criminal group. It is my belief that the masochistic motives are to be found in the criminal to a greater extent than we may at first suspect, and that once we have learned to think in terms of masochistic motives we will have a more promising key to the problem of crime.

The bulk of our criminals come from a social stratum of economic stringency, of poignant deprivations of childhood, of rejection and abandonment, of inadequate educational and social preparation, of bewildered and uncounseled adolescence, and the loveless trammels of parents. Thus, from the start we have a nurture *par excellence* for the development of a character pattern unlikely to carry one through the competitive frustrations of modern life. When we penetrate the criminal's mask we discover that he is anxious, turbulent, and hostile in his aloneness, powerlessness and insignificance.

It would seem then that a person with such beginnings has really but two avenues of achieving tolerable adjustment: Either he achieves the annihilation of himself by masochistic strivings, or attempts to become a part of a bigger and more powerful whole outside of himself; to submerge and to participate in it. This power can be externalized, as a person (a leader), God, the nation, or an institution; or, internalized, as conscience or a psychic compulsion, and thus may the individual become

a part of such a power and participate in strength, permanent and glamorous. Thus can one's insignificance be psychologically dissolved and a relief be obtained from the torture of doubt.

At this juncture, in the following, we may gain some hint that the criminal act is the surface manifestation of an un verbalized inner conflict—something that partakes of a “fatal necessity.”

One group of criminals for whom punishment is intended to be most salutary are those who do not learn by experience, and for a repetition of crime are returned to the penitentiary as parole violators, with or without additional punishment. What do these parole violators tell us and themselves in explanation for their compounded misfortunes? Here is a sample:

Case 1. White, age 36, sentence 2 to 4, Robbery by Assault, I. Q. 80, 6 arrests, 4 convictions, with a history of both chronic alcoholism and drug addiction, coincident with marriage, aggravated successively by the arrival of six children. He says:

“I can't tell you much about it because I am very foggy; I remember going into the store and leaning over the counter talking to this girl, and then someone hit me over the head. I don't know why I did it, except I was so drunk. I had enough money and I just had a toy pistol with me. All the rest I know about it is what the detectives told me afterwards.”

The inmate added this statement with reference to his attitude toward imprisonment:

“If it wasn't for the pains that I have in my stomach, sometimes I think I'd really be happy here.”

Again, Case 2. White, age 32, sentence 5 to 10, Entry and Larceny, I. Q. 97. This inmate's career began at ten and he has accumulated 20 arrests and 15 convictions, with previous parole violations for larceny. He has spent some 9 years in prison and after a parole interval of 3 years was rearrested and received a term in the Philadelphia County Prison.

“I had been out of Holmesburg 3 months and was unable to get work. I came to Philadelphia from Camden and went to 9th and Vine and saw a few fellows I knew from Holmesburg. We all drank a bit

then I ran out of money; I pawned my overcoat for \$2.50 and drank some more. I was drunk and started home alone. While walking to the ferry I got the idea of breaking into a place and getting some stuff to raise money. I went up an alley, climbed up the fire escape of a pants factory, broke through the window, and entered and took about 20 pairs of pants. I intended to sell the pants but had gotten only two blocks from the scene of the robbery when I was arrested. I was drunk and singing lustily."

Let us consider the testimonial of Case 3. White, age 30, sentence 2½ to 5, Robbery, I. Q. 83. This inmate has a record of 2 arrests and 2 convictions, having served previously 5 years in prison and having enjoyed a free interval of 5 months.

"Two of us were eating in a restaurant about 11 p. m. After we finished eating I picked up the checks and went to the cashier. I hit one of the keys and the cash register opened and I reached in, took bills, and ran out. I had been a steady customer at this restaurant and the waitress knew where I lived. Two days later they came to my home and placed me under arrest."

This man served his minimum parole time and was released, and this is his account of his parole violation:

"I picked up a piece of iron from the gutter and threw it through the window of a wholesale hat store. I was arrested on the spot when a red car pulled up, as I broke the window. I think there is something wrong with me mentally and I would like to talk to a psychiatrist."

I may add that he never came near the psychiatric office.

Case 4. Colored, age 23, I. Q. 123, sentence 1½ to 3, Burglary, 2 arrests, 2 convictions. This is his account of his original arrest:

"I broke into the Frazier Country Club about 1 a. m. I stole a cigarette machine and food from the place. Six days later I was arrested because the police found out I sold some cigarette. They also found my fingerprints inside the club."

Case 5. Colored, age 33, sentence 1½ to 3, Felonious Entry, I. Q. 67, a record of 22 arrests and 20 convictions, who has spent 11 years, six months previously in prison and who had a free interval of 3 months.

This is his explanation for his crime:

"I'd been drinking and became drunk. They claimed I broke into a rear window of a gas station. While inside a cop on the beat arrested me. I don't remember anything that happened until I woke up the next morning in the police station and they told me what I had done."

And, again, Case 6. Age 25, 6 arrests and 6 convictions, previous time served, 11 years; free interval, 1 month and 18 days. Originally he pled guilty to 9 counts of burglary and this was his account:

"I was drunk the day I was arrested and a detective came and told me I was under arrest and he also told me he could prove I had committed crimes. I told him if that was the way *he* felt about it, I would plead guilty, and I did."

His parole violation points to the moral about good intentions. He said:

"I broke into a beauty parlor and stole some insurance policies. When I tried to return these policies for the reward, the police were there and I was arrested."

On reflection, these random samples throw some light on our theme of masochism. Throughout them we detect the same motive of candor and matter-of-factness in their recital. One senses that the offender has gained some satisfaction in his experience and is content to let his explanation stand. When these men are pressed for some account of the why-for of their acts the invariable reply is a confession of bewilderment and a searching for the answer. Do we not have a similar experience when we ask our anxious patients to provide us with explanations for their symptoms? If the offender is probed further, he is aroused to hostile defense as if in some way we threaten his inner equilibrium. At best he attributes his misfortunes to bad luck or to some outside power and makes protestations of the determination, this time, to reform and make good.

In the execution of their criminal acts there is suggestively the element of "skilled awkwardness," of the trivial oversight such as the failure to efface fingerprints, and the anticipation of arrest. This is true even in inmates of relatively high level of intelligence. Some situations would seem to be an expedient for, if not a conscious invitation to, arrest and punishment. Many young criminals have confided that in the execution of their acts they experienced a mixed feeling of anxiety and

of exhilaration, that they are impelled to keep going and to repeat their crimes as if drawn irresistibly to disaster. Such is the case of young boys who suddenly go out on rampages of violence and multiple robberies.

In our criminal character pattern we discern other features that may have some bearing on our discussion of masochistic motives. Many writers have remarked that criminal behavior is singularly infantile in character, and seems to have its prototype in the elementary asocial pattern of the child. It tends to be fixed and repetitive and to have a symptomatic kinship with the psychoneuroses, which are commonplace of medical practice. This kinship between criminal behavior and psychoneurotic suffering is manifest as anxiety which in the random individual seems to be resolved subjectively by conversion into physical symptoms; that is, functional disorders, or into compulsive obsessional states; or by conversion objectively into overt aggressive behavior.

In this equation the symptomatic products are psychically equivalent tokens of the same basic conflict. The dominant psychologic aim often appears to be the attainment of punishment and the adjustment of guilt-laden displacements, which are inaccessible to the patient (or to the criminal) by ordinary conscious search. If we are to believe that the functional symptoms of the psychoneurotic are the symbolic language of an inner conflict, then we may speculate that in parallel the criminal act may have the same symbolic significance. Thus we have a hint that the psychoneurotic symptom and the criminal act are but dialectic variants of the basic mother tongue. If we are to better understand and treat either the psychoneurotic patient or the criminal, we have but to better learn the language of their symptoms.

It seems that the conflict common to both the psychoneurotic and the criminal is that of dealing in a socially accepted manner with infantile aggression, which represents an unmodified foreign body affecting the whole personality. We may discover that the symptoms of the psychoneurotic are disguised surrogates of un verbalized criminal wishes. This is common clinical experience. Perchance the antisocial acts of the criminal attain for him the same unconscious gains. Therefore, cannot one say, for the sake of argument, that psychologically both are criminal *de facto*, but that the symptoms of the psychoneurotic spare him the opprobrium of being criminal *de jure*?

Now, it is to be pointed out that the criminal is no more able to explain his conduct than the psychoneurotic patient is able to explain his functional symptoms or the masochist his suffering.

Let us see if the following case illustrates the foregoing remarks. Here we are to deal with a white inmate now 36, I. Q. 90. From available information we know that he comes from Irish, German-American stock; that his infancy and early development were said to be inconspicuous, and that at the age of 12 he allegedly sustained a head injury after which some personality changes were noted. Since the age of 14 his career is briefly as follows:

After a number of arrests for neighborhood mischief and for larceny he was committed to Glen Mills Reformatory in April of 1922. After some three elopements and the lapse of two years he was paroled. Within a year there takes place a close series of three arrests for entry to steal. These are obscured in the records, but we do know that he was out on bail until February of 1926, when he was sent to the Philadelphia County Jail for 2½ to 5 years for entry with intent to steal. It appears that the inmate had consented to help an older fellow move furniture out of a large house and to store a part of the goods in his own basement. The upshot of this enterprise was his participation in a large scale theft of antiques, his discovery of himself in a precinct police station house after drinking some wine with friends, and unaccountably, a readiness to take the whole blame for the affair because the older fellow's wife was going to have a baby.

An interesting sidelight of the inmate's childish behavior is afforded in the record of his stay in the County Prison. He was cited for breaking open an officers desk to obtain cigarettes, and for stealing buns. For these misconducts he was detained one month beyond his parole expiration and discharged in August, 1928, at the age of 20. Within 4 months after his release he got married to a girl whom he had picked up one evening on a wager and challenge by his companions. After this chance acquaintance had ripened into a courtship, the inmate was confronted by an irate and determined grandmother, a weeping girl, and a demand of marriage. Despite his knowledge that he had had no connections with the girl, he consented to marry her, because "I feared this would look bad at the parole office." As a matter of fact, the girl really was not in a family way until almost a year after the marriage, and she subsequently bore him a child in August of 1930.

Curiously, 4 days before the birth of this child the inmate was arrested for receiving stolen goods. He received one year probation. No doubt the Court was moved to leniency out of the fact of the inmate's marital situation. Despite this leniency he got himself arrested within

60 days for assault and battery with threats to kill. Again, the judge gave the inmate a suspended sentence and one year probation.

During the early part of 1931 the inmate made a final separation from his wife. In March of 1932 a second child was born. He says he doesn't know if this child was really his. Within the next 3 months we find the inmate again arrested as a suspicious character and discharged, and within a month again arrested for suspected larceny and discharged; and within 5 months, again arrested while in the act of breaking into an American Store. The disposition for this arrest was pending, yet the inmate was again arrested for attempted larceny of a car. All of this culminated in a sentence of 3 to 6 years in the Eastern State Penitentiary, beginning in April, 1933.

It would seem that his admission to the penitentiary brought the inmate some relief from the parlous life outside. But destiny should decree that he should find himself in the toils of a full-blown prison riot and charged with Setting Fire to Public Building; Aiding, Counseling, and Procuring the Burning of a Public Building. He was given an additional sentence of 5 to 10 years.

During the period of seven and a half years served by the inmate, the medical dispensary record reflects a series of bizarre complaints and symptoms which were easily described and diagnosed as functional in character. For reasons not made accessible to us, the inmate was paroled by commutation on the last day of December, 1940. At this point in our narrative it would seem reasonable to hope that the inmate had at last attained salvation, that the ends of justice had been satisfied, and that the application of punishment alone had reformed him.

Upon release, the inmate returned to live with his mother and for the ensuing 3 months he worked as a house electrician, and after that became regularly employed as a millwright in a large industrial plant.

Altogether he enjoyed a free interval of 7 months, during which time he conformed to the nominal requirements of the parole office until one night he left a friend's house about 1 a. m. and halfway home he stopped his car nearby a house under construction. As a matter of fact, he had been employed previously in this house. There was no bar to his entry and he gathered together some carpenter tools and unattached hardware fixtures. He placed this booty in his car and proceeded on his way. About two blocks distant from his home he was overcome with an acute anxiety and broke out into a cold sweat. His anxiety impelled

him to reverse his direction and return to the site of his theft. With his auto lights turned out he approached the house and was in the process of replacing the goods when prowler police nabbed him.

The inmate pled guilty to the charge of felonious entry and larceny, and was sentenced to a term of 5 to 10 years to run concurrently with the back parole time. This is to say that he cannot be again paroled until June, 1947. Save for an interval of 7 months this inmate will serve some 13 years. This all started with being caught while trying to get into an American Store.

We could close here if we were only interested in the few isolated legal instances of the inmate's chronicle. We could go no further and conclude with the committing court, who said: "I feel, of course, that society should be protected from a man who has repeated offenses;" and we could conclude also that the inmate is a fool. But let us proceed further to satisfy our curiosity.

The inmate refers to his experience as a sort of strange interlude; that he was "in a fog." He could give no explanation to either police or committing court. Such an explanation seemed so bizarre that it invoked laughter on the part of the prosecution and the court, especially when he tried to explain that he "was unaware of what had done," and that he was really returning the goods.

Let us return to the time of his release from the penitentiary. Upon his arrival home the inmate's mother noted that he didn't "look well," and that he complained of persistent headaches which made him feel in a fog. The inmate relates that during his freedom he never felt right, that he had the feeling that he wasn't the same person, and that seemingly every time he talked to someone the idea would rise in his mind that "somehow I'm being cheated." He had many disturbing dreams, particularly in which he witnessed his mother being hurt, and in which he was invariably frustrated in the rescue of someone. He soliloquized: "I can't realize I'm back here—sometimes I want to bat my head against the wall—I cannot find myself—everything I try goes against me—while I was outside I traveled 15,000 miles alone in my car looking for something I couldn't find—all I want is happiness—maybe the fact that I have been in love for 10 years has something to with this—everything I do is wrong—I'm always lost—there is something that gets worse over the years—I fear that I will do someone some harm and I want to keep out of trouble—I am half Irish and half German and I could kill somebody—I keep guarding myself."

The inmate complained that the old pain in his head was returning; that he was restless, and that each morning he felt very weak. "I can't figure out where I made my mistake. It all now seems so silly—if I could only get to the bottom of it." The inmate felt that he was losing his mind, because he sensed that he was losing control of himself. One day in the prison yard he witnessed at close hand a fight between two other inmates who were strangers to him. He became very agitated and could hardly contain himself, "as if I had actually been in the fight myself." His anxiety in part was sustained by an idea (*deja eprouve*) that he had done certain things before. He recalls that before the offense and while working with others he would get all "steamed up" to the breaking point, and would have to get away from them. Such feelings came to him after his release—everything seemed changed. "The more I try to figure it out the worse I get and I get disgusted." (I may interject here that in our experience this word "disgusted" in prison language carries with it an ominous import). He was resentful over the fact that he had done 3 years for the original crime and that he was obliged to do five more because of participation in the riot. When he denied that he had participated, "the officials only scoffed at him." He said: "What have I got? A life that I have thrown away. I went before the Board five times. Each time they would slowly wear me down." And here inadvertently he said: "I wasn't fit to be out when I was released."

I have selected a few of the inmate's statements which in themselves reflect his anxiety, his hostility, his vacillation, his inner conflict, and his symptomatic self-thwarting attempts to solve his problem, attempts that are neurotic and futile and which leave him unreconciled. He does have occasional glimpses into his difficulty, but he is unable to accept his insight because it is too painful.

I have in mind another reason for relating his symptoms. For the first time in his life he has had the chance to reveal something of his inner feeling without the fear of being rebuked or condemned. This is the first time anyone has regarded his feelings as important, albeit that they are irrational and difficult to understand. In his statements we get a glimpse into his inner contradictions and his archaic feelings. We may begin to believe that he is in a fog, that his testimony in court was given in good faith, but that he was really incapable of appraising himself, much less reality. This inmate's struggle for expression has not got much beyond a point of un verbalized suffering, of self-punishment and mortification which break through the surface as physical symptoms, and as

diffuse and impotent rage. In his articulate expression we recognize a threadbare rationalization in which he attempts unsuccessfully to harmonize reality with his wishes.

It should be pointed out that this fellow is not insane, within the limitation of our legal definition. If not insane, how should we regard him? I am inclined to consider him just as socially disabled as any insane person, and as in just as great a need for help and treatment.

I have given you a rough biography of one criminal, yet what I have described in him holds true in my opinion for the majority of men that we have in our custody. In many individuals under our observation we often intuitively sense that the psychoneurotic symptom mirrors an antisocial impulse, a hostile drive which threatens the inmate. For safety, the inmate seemingly turns the hostile drive on himself, as if in illness and in punishment he is secure. The price he pays is suffering. In a number of cases on parole we have noted, as in our case elaborated above, that the development of symptoms offers some security to the inmate against his own instinctual self. We have also noted that if the inmate on parole loses his symptoms there is a danger of their counterparts, the hostile drives, usurping the ego and making the risk of criminal relapse real.

A clue to this mechanism is observed in the frequency of anxiety which arises in the otherwise quiescent inmate, especially at the threshold of release, and often during parole. Such anxiety, which is free-floating, augurs the renewal of the basic conflict which was really never modified by official punishment. Unaided, how does the inmate deal with this anxiety? First, he may develop psychoneurotic symptoms and incessant calls on the medical dispensary. What he really is trying to express is his desperate need for help. He wants the doctor to help him with his resurgent inner conflict. Second, the inmate may, without apparent reason, provoke a quarrel with a fellow inmate (usually one bigger than himself) and get physical punishment; or, he may carry out some conspicuous breach of discipline as if he were vaguely signaling for attention and for rescue.

Now, in prison management, a breach of discipline is registered as a misconduct and is a source of annoyance to the disciplinary staff. With such a blemish the inmate's parole may be postponed or revoked. Thus secondarily the inmate attains his unconscious aim. Curiously, the prospect of release would seem to be a threat to his inner security, and it will be discerned that his explanation for his symptom or his misconduct is as

enigmatical as his protestation of injustice is vehement. Why does the inmate erect such obstacles to release if there is not operating in him a self-thwarting masochistic drive?

I hope that this exposition will bring to your minds the conviction that conventional punishment of such a person tends only to traumatize him and to compound the evil that it is intended to cure; that punishment thwarts reformation because it tends to limit the response to a pattern which is its own, a pattern which is uncompromising and sadistic, and fraught with the very mischief it desires to remedy. Punishment may produce a temporary symptomatic improvement, but it is otherwise futile. Too often it tends to create a moral sanction for further forbidden gratifications. It is possible to conceive that the denial of punishment would be a worse penalty for the masochist, who would be thereby forced to find a solution of his conflict in a more socially accepted manner.

The very fact that punishment is measured as a sentence and that it has an inherent limit in its duration leaves the inmate with the illusory assurance that at the end of a definite time he will have settled accounts. This psychological fact is a strong argument for the indeterminate sentence, which would impose upon the inmate the ultimate choice of seeking and achieving redemption in himself.

We should be reminded that the community conspires to prevent the criminal from escaping his aloneness and dependence. He is not accepted into a larger power outside of himself. His remaining avenue of escape is the obliteration of the self through masochistic striving and the second choice of identifying himself with a minority of fellow sufferers. When liberated into the community he meets with fancied and more often real rebuff which in turn arouses his hostility, which he feels justified in carrying out violently on the community. In this way a vicious circle is established. In turn, the penitentiary becomes his refuge that holds for him the only real security in which he finds the mutually sympathetic fellowship of sufferers like himself and in which he attains also a restraint against his own hostility which otherwise threatens him as a free citizen.

In this interplay of forces the criminal is caught between the desire to conform and to have approval and a strong impulse to retreat to a more dependent existence, a return to the childlike or infantile security in which all immediate needs are supplied without effort on his part, a

situation reminiscent of a time when he once demanded and did get love. In modern competitive life the penitentiary is a substitute for this original maternal protective situation.

I should like to close with a few remarks relating to psychiatric treatment of the criminal. The aim of individual psychiatric treatment is to enable the criminal to deal with his anxiety, to give him an understanding of its sources and to provide him with a cathartic outlet for the deeply rooted emotional factors that impel him to self-thwarting ends. At the same time we must provide him with alternative acceptable avenue of sublimation just as the socially developing child is to be provided means of more versatile and acceptable expressions of instinctual drives. The technique of individualized treatment is the same as applied to everyday treatment of maladjusted non-criminals. The problem with the individual criminal is not that of persuading him to recite his wrongdoings and that of extracting recantations of reform, but of giving him the confidence to bring to the surface his secret feelings and repressed wishes of which he is ashamed. The reformation of the criminal comes only by the attainment of emotional security within himself against the anxieties that are engendered by his culture; against the anxieties of his aloneness, powerlessness, and his insignificance.

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THE COVENANT OF THE GANGSTERS

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I.

Thrillers and motion pictures have familiarized a world-wide audience with some of the psycho-dynamics of the criminal group. As a rule the plot is centered on the conflict between crime and conscience, between the gang and society. The criminal is trapped by his guilt, the innocent by the appearance of complicity; they both fear two-fold retaliation—from the gang for their desertion, from society for their deeds. The plot dramatizes the conflict: between the representatives of purity, the family back home, and those of evil, the gang leader with his dark fascination. A price has been set on his head. He is aware of the danger of desertion and tries to strengthen his hold over his followers. He depicts to the wavering the advantages of the criminal association, using as bait the extensive loot which a new and final enterprise of great daring must yield. It cannot fail since so many similar have succeeded. It is the final adventure; after that they all will live in peace. He threatens the traitors with his unfailing revenge and at the same time he compares the safety under his protection with the punishment awaiting those who surrender to justice. The gang leader uses a special technique with the tragic hero, the innocent who has become the accomplice; his innocence, the leader says, will not be believed; there is no alibi to save him—and he, the leader, will prevent his securing one. Complicity thus becomes the center of their pact for common loot and common safety, sealed by the unifying force of association in crime. I propose to call this pact the *covenant of the gangsters*.

I shall not in this paper discuss its deeper psychological implications but rather use it as a clue for the discussion of a political phenomenon, of the psychological manipulation to which the leaders of Germany are subjecting the German people. *Indicted as criminals by the*

United Nations, they attempt to retain the loyalty of the people by presenting them with a set of arguments similar to those used by the gang leader of our model.⁽¹⁾

The war, they say, offers the German people an *unique opportunity* to live in plenty as masters of Europe. This is no meaningless promise to the Germans. Goods from every European capital have reached German homes. While it was loot in the moral sense, it was legally purchased by the soldiers of the occupation armies with occupation currency. Thus has the sense of decency been gradually corrupted. Now in the "*final enterprise*" there is more at stake; no longer is it fashion and trinkets, silk stockings from Paris or embroidery from the Balkans; but land and iron and coal, the Eastern spaces of Europe, food, fuel and steel. Thus hardship will be no more. The war, in other words,—as Dr. Goebbels says—is an *investment*. And the word quickly goes the rounds and gains acceptance. Even the military experts use the term; the battles of the Summer of 1942, which led to the conquest of the Donets Basin, are termed investments by Lt. Gen. Dietmar, a military expert, who broadcasts his comments on the German home radio. Victory is made concrete. The German occupation army in Norway was told in October 1942 what it will mean: no more wars to wage after conquest, a house for each on his own soil, and a car for each home.

The image of defeat is even more vividly drawn than that of victory. Starvation, labor and slavery, are the alternatives. The memory of the years following the first World War is dramatized and unrepresentative or spurious voices from Allied countries are quoted to add color to old patterns. There is Lord Vansittart's pamphlet,⁽²⁾ there is the unfortunate venture of a Mr. Kaufman of New York who advocates sterilization of all Germans,⁽³⁾ there is a harmless letter of a Dutch correspond-

(1) The following summary of recent German propaganda lines is based on their analysis by the Research Project on Totalitarian Communication at the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science, New School for Social Research, directed by Hans Speier and the author. The material is derived from *The Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts* published on behalf of the British Ministry of Information by the British Broadcasting Corporation as a confidential document and made accessible to the Research Project on Totalitarian Communication through the courtesy of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

(2) Sir Robert Vansittart, *The Black Record: Germans Past and Present*, Hamilton, London, January 1941.

(3) Theodore N. Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish*, Argyle Press, Newark, N. J., 1941, p. 104. An extensive propaganda campaign, which reached every German home, was based on this publication. See Howard K. Smith, *Last Train from Berlin*, New York, A. Knopf, 1942, pp. 183 ff.

ent to one of the emigré paper in London (*The Vrij Netherlands*),⁽¹⁾ who recommends that German children be educated for some years in the democratic countries to let them see what free society can achieve. And this becomes, in Dr. Goebbels' version, "Mr. Churchill's plan for the disruption of the German family."

The two arguments thus far summarized are parallel to the promise of loot and the frightening description of retaliation by society in the gang leader's management. While our summary of German home propaganda did not exaggerate, it did not take into account that the two arguments were not thrust upon the German people but were gradually developed. Earlier in the war victory was described as freedom from danger and "encirclement;" the war, so runs the perennial saga of all people at war, was not sought, but forced upon the Germans. Every one of their subsequent attacks was *justified* as an anticipation of an invasion of their own country. But gradually and unnoticeably Dr. Goebbels turned from ideals and lofty concepts to a more realistic diet. The longer the war lasted, the less did he rely only upon ideological pretenses, such as the New Europe or German Socialism. As the war came of age he supplemented the themes of moral justification by the cynical and "hard-boiled" version, in which "opportunity" and "investment" are supreme.

The threat of retaliation and the use of the post-war spectre for the purpose of unification has even a longer history. It is rooted in that version of 1918 which had been propagated by the German General Staff and adopted by Adolf Hitler: The gulf between the army and the people and the defection of the people were responsible for the peace of Versailles. Germany's army, it is said, was never conquered. Unvanquished, it surrendered to the blandishments of an enemy who proved superior only in the arts of deceit. This time the Germans will not surrender. They have, Dr. Goebbels says, a prophet who warns them; the prophet, of course, is the skillful doctor himself.

The frequency and intensity with which similar arguments are discussed by German propagandists on the domestic front is related to the specific difficulties with which National Socialist psychological manipulation meets in war time. While it might have been possible to isolate the majority of the German people from the world in peace time, in

, (1) *Vrij Nederland*, London, Sept. 19, 1942. p. 246. It should be noted that an editorial note expresses disapproval of the suggestion.

war time the enemy radio establishes a permanent contact between the German people and those against whom they fight. All attempts at intimidation have by and large failed. Millions in Germany listen to the B. B. C. and the "Voice of America," which reaches them from London. Capital punishment of agitators, years in jail and forced labor for secret listening are not only meted out by the judges and by those institutions of tyranny which a deceitful perversion of language calls "the people's courts;" at given times, when the voice of the enemy is likely to find greater attention than usual, the newspapers are instructed to publicize the verdicts. These are by no means the only threats voiced against the German people: in the fourth year of the war German leaders, campaigning for morale, address mass meetings ever more frequently; and ever more frequently threats are mixed with promises. The promises refer to the future, to the time "after victory." The threats concern the present or the immediate future, and are centered on the extermination of those who endanger the unity of the Germans.

Thus three themes, familiar from our model, occur at a time when German leaders seem apprehensive of defection: the promise of loot, the description of retaliation to be meted out by society, and the threat of punishment for attempts at betrayal. And yet one might object that our parallel is meaningless since every government in war time is bound to describe to its people the blessings of victory, the horrors of defeat, and to threaten the traitors. No evidence has been given to prove that in order to strengthen the bonds between themselves and their people German leaders rely upon participation in crime as a powerful factor of group unification.

Instead of quoting random examples from German propaganda in support of our thesis, we shall first formulate it with greater precision and shall then turn to a detailed analysis of one specific document of propaganda; the analysis of this document will, we hope, illustrate at what point the older arguments of persuasion were supplemented by the "covenant of the gangsters."

We believe that the atrocities committed by National Socialists are not mainly to be considered as outbursts of sadistic proclivities of individuals or of groups whose mores tolerate such gratifications. Brutality, we believe, is not mainly a direct expression of regression or of deterioration of standards. Brutality is part of planned psychological manipulation and is supposed to serve a number of purposes. One of the

purposes is the intimidation of actual and potential opponents. Another is to give the impression of strength and determination so frequently linked to ruthlessness. A third, we believe, is the attempt to create a feeling of complicity among the German people. In past years the German people were not informed in detail about the cruelties of their rulers; and yet a steady stream of information reached them which implicitly carried the news. In the first years of Hitler's rule they heard of concentration camps and persecutions. In the first years of the war they heard of the execution of hostages, of retaliations brought to bear upon the people in conquered lands. All such news, they were told, was exaggerated, was atrocity propaganda. In both cases, however, National Socialists were prepared to make partial admissions. The coercive measures of peace time were the means necessary to guarantee the safety of the State; the cruelties of war and occupation took place under the stern law of belligerency. The blitz, it was said, is humane through its very speed. Thus a steady stream of *justification* reached the German people. The significant fact is that as the war progressed the arguments of self-justification were found to be insufficient. Gradually the German people were made to understand what had been done "for their sake." Implicitly they were led to realize what the reactions of their victims must be, that their proudly extended living space was surrounded and intersected by a wall of hate. When Marshal Goering told them, in October 1942, that while their victims might starve, they would be fed, should they not have realized what the reactions of the victims would be if they ever came into their own? Since conquest is termed investment for the future benefit of every German home, should the German people not feel themselves to be partners? Since war is presented to them as an opportunity offered to every German, should they not feel the responsibility for the concomitant cruelties?

The German leaders, we believe, wish to create or to reinforce guilt feelings among the German people. But the purposeful cynicism of their propaganda aims also at transforming these conscious or unconscious guilt feelings into fear of retribution. The transformation is entrusted to the covenant of the gangsters. The German leaders treat the German people as accomplices because they believe that the battle which lies ahead is best fought by a people which has lost faith in any alternatives.

II.

On the 9th of September 1941, the Jews in Germany were ordered when out of doors to wear the Star of David as visible sign of their identity. The German people—or, to be more exact, the inhabitants of some of the major cities—reacted strongly. “The citizens of the Capital,” Dr. Goebbels writes, “were at first taken aback.” They showed their sympathy by ostentatiously joining the Jews. “One saw here and there in the streets of West End Berlin,” Dr. Goebbels continues, “Jews parading in the company of non-Jews,” “Jew drudges” who acted as a “guard of pity.” These misled Germans pretended that “after all the Jews are human beings too” and each of them felt certain that “his Jew,” whom he had known for years, was “a decent Jew.”

This picture drawn by the German Minister of Propaganda—and Public Enlightenment—has been corroborated by a number of observers who have since left Germany. According to these observers, seats were respectfully vacated in streetcars when Jews were standing up. Others relate the preferential treatment of Jewish customers by German merchants. Still others tell that Jews, who were not supplied with tobacco rations, would occasionally find in their overcoat pockets cigarettes anonymously deposited there by sympathetic passers by. We do not know how frequent such occurrences were, nor where in Germany they occurred, nor who were those who dared to profess or practice such humane attitudes. All we know is that such demonstrations of sympathy occurred. “Suddenly,” Dr. Goebbels says, “all the Jews in Berlin are nothing but quaint little babies, moving by their helplessness, or frail old women.”⁽¹⁾ The German leaders found these manifestations dangerous enough to take counter-measures.

At first a merely defensive attitude was adopted and a typical campaign of justification was initiated. Justification disposes of a limited number of formulas. The simplest one describes the action as mere retaliation in kind. Thus the rumor organization of the German Ministry of Propaganda was instructed to spread the story that all Germans in the Jew-ridden United States had been legally compelled to wear a G super-imposed on the swastika over the heart.⁽²⁾ The Star of David

(1) The translation here quoted is that of the *Daily Digest of Foreign Broadcasts*, British Broadcasting Corporation.

(2) See Frederick Oechsner, *This Is The Enemy*. Little, Brown & Co., Boston 1942, p. 247.

was therefore a retaliation in kind. But soon justification was supplemented by cynicism. This process of supplementation becomes apparent in an article of Dr. Goebbels' published on November 14, 1942, in *Das Reich*. He analyzes the attitude of those who side with the Jews by saying that kind-heartedness is a traditional German vice.⁽¹⁾

"This failing certainly testifies to our human decency and generosity but not always to our political wisdom and intelligence."

As a glaring example of this attitude, Goebbels refers to Franco-German relations. He reminds his readers how at the outbreak of war Frenchmen threatened to carve up the Reich and predicted that the German people would once more have to queue up in front of their steaming field kitchens.

"Our armies," Dr. Goebbels continues, "defeated France in six weeks and then one saw German soldiers distributing bread and sausage to the starving French women and children along the roads, and oil to the Paris refugees so that they could get back home as quickly as possible and so that some of them at least could start afresh their campaign of incitement against Germany."

A similar attitude, Dr. Goebbels says, exists towards the Jews. In their case, however, pity is infinitely more dangerous. They are the arch-enemy of Germany, responsible for both wars:

"If they could, they would lead one people after the other into the war against us.... All Jews belong by birth and race to an international conspiracy against National Socialist Germany."

Since this lesson may have sounded stale and some may have referred to the harmless character of the Jews they know, Goebbels cautiously adds:

"The fact that they have little chance within the Reich is not because they are loyal but only because we have taken what we consider to be correct measures."

One of these measures is the Yellow Star. This will eliminate the danger of anonymity. The measure was the more imperative since there are Jews "who can hardly be recognized by their appearance."

(1) The article was also printed as a pamphlet, which was distributed with the ration cards. See Howard K. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

It is in this connection that Dr. Goebbels indicates the immediate reason for the introduction of the Yellow Star. His argument seems so convincing that we are inclined to consider it as one of the causes for the various measures taken since 1941 against the Jews, for their deportation and annihilation. By 1941 the growing dissatisfaction in Germany had created an atmosphere in which contact with the Jews, sympathy shown and support offered to them, had become a center of resistance:

"The Jews," Dr. Goebbels says, "must be separated from the community of the German people, for they endanger our national unity."

In order fully to appreciate the weight of this argument, it seems necessary to enlarge our context. The article we here discuss is the second of Dr. Goebbels' regular editorials in *Das Reich*, which since then have appeared in every issue; they contain the personal exhortations of Dr. Goebbels. In these articles he mainly addresses the Party and its lieutenants. And in September 1942, other channels of communication, such as the German radio, were advised to follow closely the views expounded in these editorials.

In the late Summer of 1941 the crisis in Germany's war plans became apparent. The strength of Russia had been under-estimated and the time-table of conquest was invalidated. In October, Hitler tried once more to deny the existence of the crisis. On the 3rd he proclaimed that Moscow would fall and on the 9th his personal press chief, fresh from headquarters, prognosticated the impending dissolution of Soviet resistance. Dr. Dietrich, who so grievously exaggerated Hitler's own over-confidence, apparently acted without full authority from the Propaganda Ministry. Soon after the fatal pronunciamiento had been made, attempts were made to limit its circulation. Allied propaganda frustrated these attempts; it nailed the statements down—and ever since October 1941 they have been kept alive in the memory of the German people.

On November 7th, in the first of the series of editorials we mentioned, Dr. Goebbels started a new campaign. With the bluntness of a master of propaganda, he tore the veil from the picture of the war. He described Germany's danger and said that Germany was fighting for her survival; he thus embarked upon what has since been called the *strategy of gloom*. American correspondents have since reported how, in the

late Autumn of 1941, the belief in victory was shattered when in spite of Hitler's prophecy Moscow did not fall. The growing death roll of the German army, the scores of thousands of wounded reaching the Hinterland, had prepared the soil. Grumbling and distrust increased by leaps and bounds. And the Jews, Dr. Goebbels says, were the grumblers.

"Everyone discovered in his neighborhood a fellow who acted harmlessly but who had certainly drawn attention to himself from time to time by grouching and grumbling but whom nobody had taken for a Jew. Which of us had the slightest notion that the enemy was standing just beside him, that he was a silent or cunningly encouraging listener to conversations in the street, in the subway, in the queues in front of cigarette shops?"

Dr. Goebbels here uses a variant of the scapegoat device. The grumblers and dissatisfied are linked to the Jews; they are described as Jewish instruments. Since Freud's prophetic words on the social function of anti-Semitism, one has been generally aware how closely the creation of the scapegoat is correlated to the mechanism of projection.⁽¹⁾ The scapegoat canalizes emotions from inside the group to the outside; the common enemy then acts as unifier.

Dr. Goebbels therefore proceeds to characterize the Jewish contribution to the world-wide anti-German conspiracy. In November 1941 the German people were apprehensive of the threatening American participation in the war. Dr. Goebbels makes the Jews responsible for this approaching event, so vividly linked to the dreaded memory of the first World War. Those who pity the bearers of the Jewish Star, who find it unjust that a harmless old woman should have been stigmatized by it, are directly addressed by Goebbels. They will please

"...not forget that a distant nephew of this old woman named Nathan Kaufmann, is ensconced in New York and has prepared a plan to sterilize the German population, and that a son of her distant uncle stands behind Mr. Roosevelt to drive him into the war (this under the name of Morgenthau, Baruch or Untermyer)."

This, too, is self-justification: The action is necessary in self-defense and justified as punishment.

These and similar devices of the rhetorics of justification are however vigorously supplemented by another and opposite version. Dr. Goebbels turns to the offensive. He openly states that the treatment of

⁽¹⁾ S. Freud, *Civilization and its Discontent*, New York, 1931.

the Jews is harsh. He refers to those "vegetating in Polish ghettos" or "leading a wretched parasitical life in Berlin or Hamburg." He therefore links the theme of the Jewish deportation to that of the "Star of David." But he even goes farther: he opens up new avenues of propaganda strategy in openly stating that these individual actions are part of a larger plan, the realization of which had been predicted by the Fuehrer.

With frightening sincerity he describes what is happening in these plain terms:

"The annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe is now being fulfilled."

Historians will find it laborious to search for parallels to this statement. The exterminator announces the extermination of victims who admittedly are not responsible as individuals, but as group. There can be no rescue by escape or conversion. There are no exceptions. And such actions are not attributed to the furor of the people. On the contrary, the people are told that opposition is useless. A plan, announced by the leader, is being carried out.

There can be no doubt that so spectacular an announcement is made deliberately and for strategic purposes. Dr. Goebbels concludes that the injuries inflicted upon the Jews make them the more dangerous. Pity of them is out of place. And while compassion may cause "temporary confusion among a few simple-minded," those who know better should realize the danger in which the German people live. Dr. Goebbels embarks upon an elaborate description of what Jewish revenge would be like in case of a German defeat. Thus the episode of the Star of David is linked to Dr. Goebbels' main theme of November 1941, that of the "war for survival." Threatened with retribution—for the annihilation of the Jewish race would spell disaster to the Germans should they be defeated—Dr. Goebbels summarizes his point in these terms:

"If only because of the Jews, we must win this war."

III.

In discussing the problems of German morale before the outbreak of the German-Russian War (June 22, 1941)⁽¹⁾ I predicted that when the planned progress of Germany's conquest would be upset by successful military opposition, the German leaders would introduce "The Cov-

(1) See "Morale in Germany," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1941, Vol. XLVII, No. 3, p. 452.

enant of the Gangsters." The prediction was not difficult to make. The "Covenant of the Gangsters," at all times latent in National Socialist propaganda, was merely made manifest by the change in the war.

At all stages of the war Germany's opponents, in their official pronouncements, have distinguished between National Socialists and Germans, and German domestic propaganda endeavored to expose this distinction as an attempt to drive a wedge between the German leaders and the German people.

The cynicism of the covenant of the gangsters is rooted in National Socialist ideology. Its nihilism was never concealed. It existed side by side with a pretended adherence to traditional values as a doctrine for the strong and for the faithful.

While these two factors upon which the prediction was based were well documented, a third factor was only inferred. I anticipated that with victory ever more distant the voice of conscience would gain in strength with parts of the German people. At first not with the members of the elite but rather with the many "coerced participants" in Germany's march to conquest and disaster. The term "coerced participants" does not refer to a specific class or a specific socio-economic status. If such were to be attempted, Dr. Goebbels may well supply a clue. In 1942 he attacked more violently than ever before the German intelligentsia and the German bureaucrats. But we do not feel that educational status or social prestige in terms of the German tradition characterize the people to whom we refer: we speak of the common man in Germany and of his reactions. His attitude towards National Socialism was tinged both by apprehension and by admiration. With most, admiration prevailed.

Many observers have asserted that ever since 1933 the brutalities of National Socialism have given rise to guilt feelings among the German people. Psychoanalytic observations of some of the Nazi sympathizers before 1938 indicate the variety of methods used by individuals to placate the voice of conscience.

There were the many who attempted to live in peace with themselves by stressing the temporary and accidental character of brutality. "It was," they said, "a regrettable phenomenon attendant upon the great national revolution." There were those who borrowed from the official rhetorics of persuasion the arguments they required for appeasement. There was a rich choice of such arguments; from denial of the truth of

the reports concerning brutality to its justification. The reports were almost regularly considered as typical atrocity tales—suspicion against them was in fact the cover under which National Socialism in 1933 deployed its practice of brutality. At the same time brutality was made to appear as justice, as retribution for crimes committed. Those who reiterated such apologetic argumentation would frequently, by hesitation in voice and gesture, reveal their discomfort. They were in search of methods of denial, in search of conviction. All they achieved was to reduce the voice of conscience to a whisper, drowned by the clamor of propaganda.

Then there were those who had turned to a more radical solution. They had decided to evade the problem of moral responsibility by accepting the leader as supreme judge. They had no conscience of their own. He acted as their Superego. They could participate in every deed since it was he who authorized it.

This schematic description of types of evasion naturally does not correspond to observation, since any individual was likely to utilize all methods here enumerated. All of them, however, were ultimately linked to the success of those who perpetrated the brutalities. Success, it seems, had two main functions in this conflict, which for the sake of brevity one might distinguish as the rational and the irrational function. In practice they are never clearly divided from each other and their interaction creates the spell emanating from success. On a rational level it is wise and useful to share in success. Opportunism is a powerful determinant of human behavior. On an irrational level success is identified with divine protection. The path of victory seems to be protected by the powers which rule over human destiny and which no mortal may oppose.

When in the dim light of current events the shape of defeat becomes visible, the opportunist will be in search of safety and will try to establish his alibi. The preconscious belief in the ultimate divine protection of the successful will, when disappointed, give rise to a different reaction; and the voice of conscience, so long in check, will gain in strength. "After all, my original feeling that this is evil was right; what looked like inspired leadership is crime after all."

Such description is bound to be schematic: out of the complexity of emotions it singles out two determinants frequently operative in conversions. Failure is deadly dangerous for the tyrant. The false friends will desert him, the disappointed followers will turn against him, and

they both will join with his old opponents, who have been waiting for the day. We do not know whether such a familiar historical pattern can repeat itself in the machine age. Not only is power streamlined, is organized opposition totally uprooted, and no alternatives are yet formulated around which defection can crystallize. And still the urge to oppose exists in Germany. The episode of the reaction to the introduction of the Star of David is meaningful as evidence. Among those who manifested their sympathy there may have been many who were in search of alibis. Then there were those whose wavering conscience was awakened, since the approach of failure had broken the spell. And there were those who had always opposed the tyrants and were in search of an outlet.

National Socialism did not only discourage such manifestations of sympathy, but Dr. Goebbels introduced the propaganda technique of the covenant of the gangsters. By announcing openly the plan for the annihilation of the Jews he wanted to transform the guilt feelings of the Germans into fear of retribution. He is fully aware of the existence of this technique and in discussing the heroism of the Russian soldiers in one of his articles in *Das Reich*, under the title of the "So-called Russian Soul" (July 7, 1942), he attributes to the political commissars of the Russian army the same principles of psychological management which he himself expertly practices.

I do not wish to give the impression that the persecution of the Jews by National Socialism was undertaken for reasons of psychological manipulation only. While much of it is planned and while it is well coordinated with psychological techniques, the root is deeper: the Jews are Hitler's oldest "persecutors."

Dr. Goebbels, however, is free from paranoid fears. His is a managerial mind, calculating and sharp, as are few of his colleagues in persuasion. And yet even he is likely, in the midst of refinements of managerial techniques, to slip. Such a slip occurred when he concluded his article on the Star of David. He summarizes once more his views on how Jews are to be treated. It is a gruesome code. It does not add to what he had said before, but now he organizes his arguments in *ten points*. They are in fact the *ten commandments of Jewish persecution*. At first, such supreme cynicism seems to be a sophisticated device of propaganda. On second thought, we find that cynicism may have gone too far. And in fact, while much of what Dr. Goebbels says is repeat-

ed over and over, the ten commandments of Jewish persecution, clearly formulated for propagation and inoculation, have not been quoted in Germany. Blasphemy does not lend itself to psychological manipulation.

In our context Dr. Goebbels' slip gains some significance. He chose the form of a *new covenant* for his orders.⁽¹⁾

(1) This paper was written before November 19, 1942, the date when the second Russian winter offensive began. Since then the covenant of the gangsters plays a less important part in German propaganda. The fear of Bolshevism is supposed to unite the Germans. It therefore can be openly admitted that there are Germans and Nazis in the Reich. "There is no possibility for any German," the *Essener Nationalzeitung* wrote in December 1942, "to save his skin by saying, 'In my heart I always was a democrat and I always hated the Nazis but I was prevented from exhibiting my real sympathies.' In the eyes of international Jewry every German will be guilty."

PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF DELINQUENCY IN THE NAVY*

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Military discipline has long enjoyed a reputation, justly or unjustly, of being a valuable corrective for criminal tendencies and behavior. Its value is dependent, however, like all other corrective measures, upon the proper "diagnosis" and the proper prescription of discipline to appropriate cases.

Navy lore abounds with anecdotes of the pampered child, of the teacher's pet, and of the mamma's boy, who have attained true adult status through navy life and discipline.

That the effect of discipline is steadying, as well as stimulating is daily evidenced by the number of husky sailors who are "first-class fighting men" despite an over-aggressive attitude and a history of numerous petty conflicts with law enforcement authorities prior to service.

The individual with a normal sense of moral and ethical responsibility who is free from psychiatric or psychological disorders usually makes a good military adjustment. On the other hand, some with this same endowment have transgressed the rules of society through external factors such as circumstance, improper associates, poverty, poor home situations and alcoholism. These latter individuals can be expected to react favorably to the discipline and regimented life of military establishments since they have that prime factor necessary for any adjustment, namely a true sense of responsibility.

Given this sense of responsibility, even partially developed, proper disciplinary action should and does result in definite value to the individual and to his community.

* Presented to the Chicago Academy of Criminology at a meeting November 13, 1942, as a part of a program devoted to "Delinquency in the Armed Services."

In attempting to predict the value of military discipline as a corrective factor in any individual case, experience has taught us to rely more upon an estimation of this true sense of responsibility than upon any other estimation.

Three of the more important functions of this sense of responsibility are, the ability to learn from experience, a recognition of the possible consequences of an asocial act, and a desire for future security.

The immense corrective value of discipline for some individuals is observed daily. However discipline as a corrective measure is being abused by those who recommend it indiscriminately for all cases of social mal-adjustment, irrespective of type, frequency and malignancy of offenses. Even in these days of a relatively enlightened psychiatric approach to the problem of the criminal there are some individuals being sent to the military service who have been given the choice, "join the Navy or go to jail." This rather archaic attitude completely loses sight of the true function of the Navy as an aggressive unit and tends to develop the impression that the navy is a modified penal institution. Thus it would appear that considerable discernment must be exercised by probation officers, parole officials and others who "clear the record and waive the probation" in order that offenders against society enlist in the armed services.

Case "K" immediately comes to mind. This individual had a history of thirty-two arrests between the ages of 6 to 17 years. His offenses ranged from truancy—through vandalism to petty and grand larceny. He spent two years in a reform school and entered the Navy after his "record had been cleared and his probation waived." A short time after entrance into the service he refused to obey the orders of officers, which resulted in a restriction of liberty privileges. He reacted to this restriction by deserting. When apprehended and returned to his station and not accorded the privileges to which he felt entitled he attempted to incite a mutiny in the brig.

Case "M" is an individual whose conflicts started while in elementary school with multiple instances of truancy which resulted in his incarceration in reform school. He escaped after hiding out for four days in a swamp without food or shelter. Following this he became involved in numerous car thefts and breaking and entering. This resulted in three arrests for more than half a dozen offenses. He enlisted

in the Marine Corps and a short time thereafter he had to be confined in the brig for frequent unauthorized absences. It was impossible to adequately confine him where he was then stationed and he was transferred to a naval prison from which he escaped on two occasions. He was referred to a psychiatrist because of his history and because he created four disturbances in one day while in detention. Psychiatric examination revealed a person of superior intelligence and one who completely lacked a sense of responsibility. "M" was clever, defiant, belligerent and took particular pride in securing for himself a position of prominence among other prisoners by fantastic bizarre means.

Case "C" was not a prisoner but was intercepted at the time of initial examination because he had been cleared of one arrest for car theft. He had ended his school career by deliberately failing one semester's work four times. He started a course in printing in a trade school, quit this after a short time and started to work. On his own detailed record it was found he held forty-two jobs in sixteen months and the longest time he held any position was ten days. During this period he encountered a group of associates who quickly acquainted him with the technique of auto theft and pilfering. He takes pride both in his extensive knowledge of methods for stealing, pilfering, and "stripping" the different models of various makes of cars and in the fact that he succeeded in at least one hundred violations of the property of others before being apprehended. Further questioning brought forth the fact that these violations were "for the thrill only" because "I never needed the money."

These three cases illustrate one type of prisoner seen rather frequently by a psychiatrist in the Navy, namely criminals who have committed crimes against persons and property. While many of them are actual psychopathic personalities, psychotic cases are not infrequent.

Case "Y" was an individual who was absent without leave approximately one hundred and twelve days. After this prolonged absence he surrendered voluntarily to local police authorities. He signed affidavits to the effect that he had communicated valuable information to foreign agents of a country with which we are at war. He named the agent in his affidavit and specified the amounts of his payments. The report which accompanied him to his base indicated that the chief of police had noted unusual mental symptoms in this individual. A brief psychiatric

interview brought forth a complicated but loosely organized system of delusions and affective and conative features typical of schizophrenia.

The second type of case frequently encountered by a psychiatrist in the Navy are those frequently called nuisance cases. These cases commit repeated minor infraction of regulations and orders, and while no one infraction in itself is important, the continual conflicts and maladjustments of these individuals render them unfit for military service. Many of these individuals are neurotics who have attempted to transfer the father-child relation of their home to the commander of their company. Psychopathic personalities with immaturity and inadequacy as the outstanding symptoms also contribute their share to this category.

The defective delinquent is not often seen because of the extensive psychological screening being done, however certain delinquents with moron intelligence are found and their uncontrollable impulsiveness and proneness to violence makes their discharge mandatory.

The problem of sexual-psychopathies in the Navy is not essentially different from that encountered in civil life, either in type or frequency. My personal opinion is that the sex pervert occurs much less commonly in a military organization than in civil life, but the rate of detection is much higher because of the close quarters and close personal observation under which men in the armed services must live. These same close living quarters, on the other hand, render this problem much more acute and the undetected homosexual can cause grave consequence in disturbances to morale of ships and small units. Thus for practical purposes it is highly important that these individuals must be promptly and efficiently detected and released from service. Segregation of this particular type of prisoner while in detention is a required procedure.

In a recent study of naval prisoners, the offenses for which the prisoners were incarcerated were divided into two groups. The first group was designated "scandalous conduct" and included those charged with rape, oral copulation, and sodomy; the second group was classed "other crimes," and included those charged with aggressive crime against the person and property of others. It was found by this study that the older the prisoner the higher the percentage of "scandalous conduct" cases, and the younger the prisoner the higher percent of "other crimes." These prisoners were studied in five year age groups and the age at which "scandalous conduct" and "other crimes" was approximately equal in occurrence was thirty years.

The disposition of Naval prisoners is a problem peculiar in some ways to this branch of the service. The prime function of the Navy is an efficient prosecution of an aggressive effort and the mission of the Medical Department of the Navy has been aptly summarized as "to keep as many men at as many guns as many days as possible." With these two criteria in mind, it is at once apparent that the discharge of patients with uncorrectable conditions must be expeditious.

A suggested plan for the disposition of disciplinary cases which have some psychiatric condition is as follows:

1. A true and accurate determination of the facts of the violations of regulations, with particular attention to a determination of whether there is present an element of criminality against the person or property of others.
2. If no criminality is involved in the case and the individual is found to be suffering from a psychiatric disorder, it is my opinion that this individual should be given a special order discharge as soon as possible.
3. However, if criminality is found to exist, the case should be tried, and prior to sentencing a board consisting of at least one psychiatrist should make recommendation as to whether the sentence should be carried out in a naval prison or in an institution for the criminal insane.

Traditionally there will be some opposition to the special order discharge of individuals who have had disciplinary charges brought against them as the feeling exists in some lay and some professional quarters that prisoners receiving such a discharge are "getting away with something." Whether punishment is avoided is not the question. The true question to be decided is, "will punishment and disciplinary action be of value to this man, the Navy or his community?"

The type of individual that will react well to naval discipline and punishment is not different from that individual who will react well to civil discipline and punishment. The efficiency of the disciplinary programs in military services is deservedly high, but no amount of any type of discipline or punishment can effectively act as a corrective when

there is not present a sense of responsibility; an ability to learn by experience; or a desire for future security. It is utterly unjust to expect men to make a proper military adjustment when they have been unable to adjust to previous civil and legal disciplinary actions. If repeated punishment in the past has failed to correct a chronic delinquent, is it reasonable to suppose that the disciplinary effort, time and expense expended during a national emergency will be successful?

It should not be forgotten that the code of the Navy presupposes honesty and honor which affords a year around opportunity for crime for the sailor lacking these attributes.

THE PRISONER IN WARTIME*

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On a certain day in June, 1918, there appeared something new under the sun. For on that day the Canadian regiment known as the Princess Pats went into action at Belleau Woods and helped, at the cost of almost complete annihilation, to turn the German thrust at Paris into an Allied victory. The Princess Pats, both as a regiment and as individuals, were the most frequently decorated regiment in the first World War. And the Princess Pats were—every man jack of them—ex-convicts.

The record of the Princess Pat regiment is a sufficient reason to cause us to think, and think hard, about the possibility of utilizing in this war the frozen man-power making up the penal population of the United States. But in this question, as in all matters dealing with convicts as a class, we must guard against the hasty generalization which would regard all prisoners as a unit. Convicts, like freemen, are far from being as like as peas in a pod; convicts, like freemen, are individuals, with individual differences even more pronounced than are their similarities. All they have in common, after all, is that each has been found guilty of a felony.

The necessity of the individual approach and the danger of sweeping generalization where convicts are concerned has been borne in upon me because I speak not as one who goes into a prison and conducts an examination of the inmates on an artificial basis, but rather as one who mingles with them as nearly as possible on even terms.

As a result of my experience with individual inmates and of the point of view it has engendered, I believe that the first essential in thinking about the possible function of convicts in the war effort is to classify them in accordance with their own attitudes toward the war and to-

* Paper read before the Chicago Academy of Criminology, October 9th, 1942.

ward taking part in it. Most emphatically, not every inmate is willing to shoulder a gun for Uncle Sam. The men in prison whom I have observed and with whom I have discussed the matter of participation in the war fall into five classes.

The first class consists of those realists who put their case quite baldly and without varnish. They want to fight because they want to get out of prison. "Sure, I'll go in a minute," says Tom, "anything's better than doing a lot more time in this joint. I'll go, and if I get killed, that's that. If I don't, I'll be out of this dump." This attitude is not so reprehensible as it might seem at first blush. It is natural that the paramount desire of men in prison is to be free; those who place their whole desire to serve their country on that selfish basis alone are simply being brutally frank. They want to get out; induction into the armed forces will accomplish that end; any higher ideals which may enter are entirely secondary.

The second class is closely related to the first. It consists of those men—and there are many of them—who are motivated both by patriotism and by their desire for freedom. These men scarcely differ in motive from free men who enlist voluntarily. Their desire to enter the service is merely stronger than that of citizens, for, in addition to answering the call of patriotism, they will be furthering their own individual ends.

Third are those men who want to bargain about their service. John has six more years to serve. "I'll go," says he, "if they'll take me now. If they make me do the rest of my time, they can go to Hell." A considerable degree of resentment enters into their attitude. They feel that in shouldering a gun they are doing something more than their duty—that they are, indeed, being heroic. Society, they feel, has not treated them well; they are willing to be magnanimous and let bygones be bygones. But if society insists on making them pay the full pound of flesh, they will have no part in defending it.

Fourth are those men who say they will not fight in defense of their country. Their time is almost served; they feel that they have been and are being abused by society; therefore they owe society nothing. They have served their sentences; now they are going out and enjoy life. Why should they risk their lives in the common defense? If they are imprisoned as draft dodgers, well and good. That imprisonment is not likely to be worse than the current one. And they are not, under

any circumstances, going to fight for their oppressors. So they say, at least. It remains to be seen what these men will do after their release. My own opinion is that their bark is worse than their bite and that the vast majority will drop their resentment together with their prison garb and act very much like the non-delinquent members of the community.

Finally, there are the constitutional anti's. They are "ag'in' the government," against everything that they feel is in any way connected with law and order, with authority of any kind. Fortunately, these men are but a very small, if highly articulate, minority. Many of them will tell you frankly that they hope the Axis wins—that the United States has the pants licked off it. Why? "What have we ever got off these people? What have they ever done but kick us around? I hope they get it in the neck. The Germans or the Japs couldn't be any worse." I have actually seen the metamorphosis of a former member of the third class into this group. From a bargainer he became a vitriol-drinker over night. The night was the one on which his parole board ticket came. He had been due for parole last winter; when his case came before the Parole Board for review, he was given an additional three years to serve. It isn't that he is so anxious to see the Axis win the war; all he wants to be awfully sure about is that we lose it.

It must not be thought that these five classes are anything like equal in number. The great majority of convicts are eager for the chance to fight for their country; it is only a very few, most of them chronic malcontents, who say that they would refuse to fight or who actually want to see our enemies win the war.

But what of the suitability of convicts for service in the army or navy? Here more than ever we must beware of sweeping generalizations and must remember that in dealing with convicts we are merely dealing with men who happen to be in a penitentiary. The inmates of a penitentiary of 5,000 are no more alike than are the inhabitants of a town of 5,000—indeed, far less so. And so, we have all degrees of suitability for service. Of course there are the cripples and physically unfit. There are psychotics. There are enemy aliens. But the central question is whether the fact of delinquency in itself would make these men unsuitable for service. The answer, I think, is that in a relatively small percentage the individual personality which caused the convict to fail to make a proper adjustment to the community would cause him to fail also in the army. The vast majority, I think, would make good soldiers—some of them superlatively good soldiers. Many of the men convicted

of crimes of violence do not lack physical courage — courage almost amounting, at times, to foolhardiness. And courage is highly desirable in a soldier. Many men have inflicted death or run the risk of inflicting it. They would have no inhibitions to overcome in this regard. Most prisoners are inured to life without many physical comforts; this is a circumstance which will prove excellent training for campaigns in the field. And in many cases at least a partial explanation of the individual's criminality is to be found in the over-development of his aggressive instincts. Those aggressive instincts can be put to good use in war. Indeed, it is only in war that the essentially anti-social tendencies of these men can be canalized into socially desirable activities.

As regards the likelihood, in general, of successful adjustment by the individual prisoner to extramural life, I should say that this likelihood is greatly increased when convicts go directly from prison into the army or the navy instead of into civilian life. For the transition is from a highly regimented existence into one only slightly less so; certainly the gap is not nearly so wide as that between prison and ordinary civilian life. A much greater part of the individual's activities is directed; the temptations and opportunities for relapse into delinquency are much less. Whatever the chances may be that a given individual will make good after release from prison, they are greater in the armed services than out of them.

The social desirability of using our convicts in some capacity to further the war effort seems so obvious that the point is hardly worth belaboring. Whether on the fighting line or in the workshop, the 150,000 prisoners in our penitentiaries can be used—must be used. The need for manpower is great; the reservoir is at hand. By what theory can we hesitate to use it? It hardly matters what theory of penology one holds; in this matter they all concur. Shall the labor of the convict be used for the advantage of society against which he has offended? How better can this be done by letting him defend his country in the armed services? Shall he be rehabilitated? How better can this be done than by letting him fight, shoulder to shoulder with his non-delinquent fellow, in defense of the ideals we hold sacred? Even those who believe that punishment, and nothing but punishment, should be meted out to the law-breaker will agree that convicts should hardly be maintained in comparative comfort and complete safety while non-delinquents are undergoing hardships on the battlefield and risking their lives hourly.

The secondary effects, too, of putting the convict into the firing line would be of benefit to the war effort. If prison populations could be reduced, a part, at least, of the personnel required to maintain the institutions would become available for military or defense work. The food now consumed by felons would be available as part of the general supply. The materials used for prison clothing could be put to more essential use. It seems utterly unreasonable to keep in prison at a time like this anyone who could safely be set free.

And that is precisely the nub of the question. How can we be sure we could, and who could not, safely be set free. Perhaps more harm than good would result from freeing any appreciable fraction of our prison populations. Perhaps the convicts would revert at once to law-breaking; perhaps those who entered the armed services would undermine the morale of our non-delinquent youth. Certainly such a danger exists if we simply empty our prisons indiscriminately. But fortunately the present stage of our psychiatric knowledge is such as to make it possible for experienced men to cull out those inmates who would be incapable of making a proper adjustment. And this number would be comparatively small. Any prison psychiatrist, any warden, any man with practical prison experience will agree that it would be possible to select thousands of men from those now in prison who would, on the whole, make as good soldiers as are likely to be inducted into the army by selective service.

If this is true, and that it is true is the almost unanimous opinion of informed observers, we certainly should not let mere legalistic technicalities stand in the way of tapping this source of man power. Some way should and must be found of making available to the war effort these tens of thousands of potential soldiers and defense workers. Already Illinois has twice liberalized its rules with respect to men on parole who enlist or are inducted into the armed services. The records made so far by the hundred and twenty parolees from Joliet-Stateville, who are now in the army or navy certainly seem to justify the steps taken. Many of these men have already risen to corporalcies and sergeancies; there are on file at the institution several unsolicited letters from commanding officers, praising the attitude, deportment, and military aptitude of ex-prisoners.

The practical reasons for making use of the man power behind prison walls are, I think, powerful, particularly when we take into consideration that among our convicted felons are to be found some highly

skilled workmen: tool and die makers, machinists, electricians. But in addition to the mere bread and butter reasons which I have partially enumerated, it strikes me that in this war, as never before, we are almost under an actual obligation to free for service to their country all those men who can reasonably be freed. This war is a war for a great ideal. We are embattled and resolved to fight to the bitter end for the Four Freedoms. Can we not transmit a portion of this idealism to that segment of society which stands most in need of it by allowing it actually to participate in the fight which is to secure the Four Freedoms for the entire world? We stultify ourselves if we fight for the oppressed minorities in other countries and on other continents while there remains in our own prisons one single man who could safely be released. The entire trend of modern education has been toward the training of the student by actual participation in the activities he is learning. We learn, nowadays, by doing. In the chemistry class the student actually experiments; even in the elementary schools training is given to a very large extent by projects, in which the students themselves work out their problems. Can this method not be adapted to the field of civic or moral education? What other means is more likely to make real to a delinquent the ideals of societal solidarity, of membership in a whole greater than the individual, than actual participation in the fight to save that society and to protect the ideals for which it stands? Personal sacrifice in the great cause is more likely, I think, than any other means to give the individual the feeling that he has a personal stake in the society he has fought to defend.

It strikes me, then, as a truism that we must, as rapidly as is consistent with safety, release from our prisons and penitentiaries all those prisoners who are willing and capable of aiding in the war effort and whose release could be accomplished without danger to society. We should, I think, set up agencies for the selection of these men. Perhaps legislation will be required—possibly the matter might best be handled by the Federal government. But whether by enactment of new legislation or by the use of the power of conditional release at present vested in the governors of most states, steps should be taken—and at once—to tap the great reservoir of fighting and working man-power locked up in our prisons.

The subject of possible release for war work is, naturally, much discussed by the convicts themselves. For the past several months numerous queries have been addressed to me about my opinion as to the pos-

sibility of some such program being inaugurated. With reference to this very paper, the prison grapevine performed in its usual efficient subterranean manner. In some way it became known that I had been invited to speak. One of my inmate clerks, who had been typing the paper for me, told me that he had received an urgent message that Bob wanted to see him as soon as possible. When he went to Bob's place of assignment, the latter said: "I hear the Doc is going to give some kind of lecture about turning guys out of here to go to the army and that you are helping him with it." When my clerk admitted that he was typing the paper for me, Bob urged him to "make it plenty strong."

A few weeks ago I was interviewing a man recently returned to the penitentiary as a parole violator and now a patient in the Detention Hospital. The inmate expressed a strong desire to be transferred to the Southern Branch of the Penitentiary, at Menard. When I asked him why he was so very anxious to go there, he told me that he believed that "they're going to empty that joint within the next year and put all the guys to work on farms. I don't think there will be so many going out from Joliet—there are more farmers down south. And you can bet your bottom dollar I want to be down there when they start letting them loose."

The matter, then, is very much in the forefront of the prisoner's consciousness. Nearly all the men, as I have said, hope that they will be able to find some part in the war effort. And let me express here my earnest conviction, shared by nearly everyone acquainted at first hand with prison work with whom I have talked, that it would be possible to pick from among prisoners a regiment of as good soldiers as could be found anywhere. Courage, loyalty, obedience, teamwork, and initiative are all to be found among prisoners as well as among free men.

PSYCHOTHERAPY OF THE ADULT CRIMINAL

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Penology has until recent times clung tenaciously to the principle of fitting the punishment to the crime, with insufficient regard to the many factors which experience has shown to underlie the typical criminal act. The dogmatism of this school of thought, with its rigid formulae for punishment or the threat of punishment as the basic therapeutic measure, is gradually yielding to the point of view that treatment should primarily fit the individual.

This shift in emphasis calls for a thorough knowledge of those elements which contribute to the criminal personality. An adequate presentation therefore of the scope, methods, and technique of therapy is not possible without a comprehensive orientation in the dynamic concept of crime, and without understanding of psycho-social phenomena. However, it is not the intent of this paper to cover the definitions of crime, or of their broad economic, social, and political aspects; nor will we take time to concern ourselves with the problem of the unapprehended criminal, or those who operate with the blessing of the statute, rather will we center our attention on those problems which are of immediate concern to those of us who are dealing practically with the criminal, whether in the courtroom, in prison, or out on probation or parole.

What in fact does the prison worker commonly see when he views the problem of crime which is taxing our social resources? Years of clinical experience with the adult prisoner have yielded certain general observations characteristic of the adult criminal; some of them may be debatable.

I.

First we see the criminal as going through life's experiences and development more or less detached from the general social experiences and aims. This does not imply that his own

aims need be consciously athwart those of the social order, although this is the case with a great many of them.

II.

Examination of motives reveals too great an inconsistency between the overt act and the claimed objective. Psychological observations uncover disguised motivations, and show how far removed criminal behavior can be from its true origin.

III.

The life story of the criminal is one of maladjustment and impaired emotional relationships from a point usually far antedating his earliest conflicts with the law. A social record of his life would be more revealing than his criminal record.

IV.

The court record reveals a tendency to repetition in crime, or in pattern of crime. This characteristic recidivism brings us to a fifth point.

V.

Repeated apprehension and punishment have to a remarkable degree failed to prevent repetition of the criminal act. This refractory element so vividly seen is more than anything else responsible for the feeling that our whole approach to the problem of crime has been an erroneous one.

Are we not then led to the belief that the classical penology as it is applied today is operating on a fallacy? Is it not comparable to the persistent attempts to cure a headache caused by a brain tumor, by administering massive doses of aspirin? This is not to indict the aspirin, but the physician who fails to diagnose the case; and in like manner, it is not punishment itself that we reject, but the persistent failure to go beyond the overt criminal act, to go to the symptoms and their underlying causes.

However, we concede that punishment has its value, and in many cases its therapeutic role; but its misapplication can easily thwart its otherwise beneficial action, and when carelessly or dangerously used

serves to the disadvantage of both society and offender. All of you are familiar with the cases in court where many excessive leniencies are followed by the most extreme penalties. Daily we observe the inconsistencies in the administration of punishment—its lack of relationship to the clinical problem, its lack of uniformity to cases of similar kind, because of misplaced judicial emphasis or discretion.

One cannot go, of course, from these observations directly into the *therapeutic problem*, without *certain other important considerations*. This is necessary as there is a general tendency impatiently to demand a cure without adequate study of the conditions we are to treat. This human weakness further demands its therapy in a specific way. This is especially true in the field of psychiatry, and yet here as in no other field the opposite holds true. Our concept of therapy can not be limited or specific, for the phenomena we observe are not specific nor genetically the same. Crime is not a uniform disorder, and for one to seek the single formulation to explain it is as futile as the attempts of a physician to find a single germ for the explanation of all disease. Yet some penologists still seek this Utopian formula.

When we examine the problem of the criminal, two questions present themselves:

Can we consider criminal phenomena as complex reaction formations, having independent etiological and developmental characteristics? We could then speak no longer of crimes, but rather of crime reactions.

To what extent is the reaction psychogenic, and to what extent can it psychically be removed?

These questions introduce the modern attempt at psychological interpretation of crime. The theory has been advanced, and fairly widely accepted among psychiatrists, that criminal behavior represents substitute emotional satisfactions which have been turned from their normal channels by adverse circumstances; but much more than this—an attempt on the part of the individual to adjust his emotional conflict—this being ineffectual, as we know, and productive of further conflicts.

We have long rejected the notion that crime per se is a goal in itself. We know when exploring the intimate feelings of prisoners, that they do not consider crime as a profitable venture; on the contrary, they

appear rather helpless and confused in the fact of life's impacts and their own thwarted strivings. It is necessary for us to recognize crime as a symptom of failure, rather than an expression of contemptuous self-sufficiency; as a representation of weakness and deprivation, rather than of independence of the external environment. Furthermore, we find not only frustrations, deprivations and failures of all kinds, but above all — and this is the factor which should be stressed most — distortions of emotional experiences. We find these transformations subtly influencing attitude and ideology. Many defenses are set up by the personality to disguise failure and attain a solution of its problems. These appear as *untoward social phenomena*, such as *flights, aggressions, multi-form antisocial compensation*, asocial modes of living, alcoholism, and confused appreciation of goals and values.

Thus, we must emphasize two processes in operation—first, a *distortion of the feeling life or the affective experience*; and, second, a correspondingly disturbed relationship with reality. Through the first, the provocative and perpetuating elements are hidden; through the second, in a faulty process of reasoning, support is found for the appropriateness and reasonableness of the individual's behavior. In contrast to the strictly neurotic personality, who suffers to attain his objective and relatively is not disturbed in his appreciation of external reality *the criminal* attains the same goal through clash with his environment. However, the process fundamentally remains neurotic in a broad sense as there still exists a struggle deep within himself; and we have ample evidence to demonstrate this clinically when these same men break down under stress of confinement and there appear on the surface more clearly, without pretense and without disguise, death wishes, homicidal drives, multitudinous somatic concerns, profound anxieties and homosexual fears, etc., these latter deserving considerable study and attention.

This paper does not intend to convey the impression that all crime is neurotic, that all crime represents a distorted emotional process, or an impaired relationship to real values—we know that this is not so. We have a great many whose response to stimuli are normal, but whose many inadequacies, both physical and intellectual, in the face of environmental impacts, make them in a very real sense victims of circumstances. Not only their misconducts, but their behavior in general is readily understandable, and these individuals respond more readily to social therapy and supervision. From a psychiatric standpoint pathology is absent, and these are listed as *Normal*, with whatever their individual

handicaps may be. It is obvious that distinctions must be made in formulating a program of treatment, which must depend upon degree and direction of psychopathy. Neither insight into their condition, nor correction of their problem, is to be attained by mere quantitative variations.

In view of the above observations, are we warranted in considering the problem of the offender to be predominantly a neurotic process, rather than more static concept of the psychopathic personality, with its implication of basic imperfection, of fixed, irrevocable deviation in the makeup of the individual? The student of crime is squarely confronted with this question—upon its answer hinge in large degree the possibility and method of therapy.

Much of what has been said up to this point has concerned criminal behavior in general, but, as has been pointed out above, crime cannot be properly treated as a unity but as a group of reactive phenomena, each presenting its own problems, each having a special relationship to the prevailing social, cultural and economic environment. We have, for example, the sexual offense group with all its variations, the aggressive robber group, the passive theft group, the fraud and deception group, the primitive assaultive group, each presenting a distinct and different challenge to our understanding and to correctional approach. This is not to say that there are no elements in common; each group participates in the generalizations that have preceded, but at the same time presents a characteristic set of problems.

Now, as we examine the unending flow of men coming to prison, we are impressed with the many patterns of behavior—no two individuals are alike either in behavior or in experience background—yet there are similarities, some so striking that formulation of some rule is suggested and possible. There is confirmation of these patterns in the subjective psychological content of the individual. Do these patterns represent the product of internal frustrations and failure, or do they arise chiefly from external circumstances? Further, to what extent do such patterns contribute directly to criminality? To what extent do they serve merely as channels of expression of more basic conflicts? All this is important in a planned treatment. Reference to their specific and detailed content can of course only be briefly made at this time; however, it seems advisable to list some of the more important ones and indulge in some discussion of their features. It will be noted that these patterns do not correspond in all cases to the legal classifications of criminals:

I.

Aggressive, egocentric reaction—usually robbery, violence strongly invited—character markedly egocentric—deep-seated hostility, dating from early parental resentments, displaced to school, and eventually to all authority. Psychological need to assert themselves—observed in prison—when these men break down, they readily become sensitive, develop ideas of reference, often of homosexual character; primitive aggressions become unbridled.

II.

Deception reaction group—characterized by deceptions as basic pattern of behavior. Profoundly narcissistic—ingratiating approach. Verbalistic. Attempting living out their infantile grandiose dreams—relationship to reality disturbed. Physically unaggressive (hysterical characters?).

III.

We must separate from the above a very large group, the "Alcoholic Fraud"—drinks, spends, and ends in the gutter psychology. Deception on a very different basis—aim is self-destructive—self-rejecting element is strong—low self-esteem—narcissistic absent.

IV.

Oedipus Complex reaction is carried out in life—profoundly pathological—small but interesting group—matricide, fratricide, patricide, etc.—those cases in which the reality of the Oedipus Situation is dramatically forced even upon the skeptic.

V.

Cases in which the Oedipus Situation is operating in more disguised fashion—many cases of abandonment, bigamy—persistent inability to adjust at adult sexual levels.

VI.

Sex deviations in all its variations—the sex act is the crime—arising from both fixations and regressions.

VII.

Paranoid Homicidal group—defective mentality a uniform finding—persecuted reaction. This does not include the small homicidal group of psychosexual sadistic reactions in the schizoid and the homosexual.

VIII.

Superior Schizoid—little emotional expression—poverty of feeling life—rejected by his environment, and in turn rejects his environment—superficially appear well-integrated—crime acts are erratic—"the perfect crime sometimes an objective"—solitary offenders.

IX.

The informer reaction—small but interesting—attain ego satisfactions under protection of other personality—compulsion to be of service reaches a point where they will engineer crimes, crimes, or falsely report them—attain the status of a big shot through the actions of a little one.

These are but a few of the more clearly discernible configurations that occur, overlapping is, of course, considerable. The picture is sometimes confused, the interpretation is not always clear, but it is evident that further careful study of these characteristic developments will greatly illuminate the path of therapy.

We must examine the criminal personality in yet another light. We can look upon personality in its path through life as constantly facing and attempting to overcome threats of all types. The adequately integrated and matured personality is one which has in the main successfully faced these threats. He has largely harmonized his efforts with his goals, and is equipped with an adequate ideology in facing life. This process of maturation, involving emancipation from earlier and no longer appropriate aims, seldom runs a smoothly progressive course, and either constantly or recurrently necessitates attempts on the part of the personality at reintegration and readjustment. These readjustments in a sense constitute psychic drains on the personality, sometimes severe. In a good many older first offenders, crime represents the inability any longer to maintain an adequate level of adjustment. This is especially

true of men erroneously considered accidental offenders, men whose reserve power has largely spent itself, who no longer can keep up the pace, while yet refusing to surrender their goals, and who regress through the means of a criminal episode. The outlook for such offenders, who are compelled to retreat so late in life, is poor unless we can aid them in adapting themselves to simpler objectives. Thus, contrary to popular opinion, we have to regard the offenders whose failures begin late, as having a comparatively poor outlook.

As for the young recidivist, who has been regarded with a hopeless prognosis, on the other hand, we may have to revise our predictions in his case for the better. The records show as a matter of fact that youthful criminal careers spend themselves with maturity. Some penologists interpret this as a biological process, a gradual subsiding of the instinctive drives and general aggressiveness of the individual.

However true this may be, another element is at work, which has been observed but not adequately emphasized; and this, one of our great therapeutic aids, is insight. *In the comparative isolation of prison life*, more men than we are apt to believe look into themselves to review their mental life. This introspection brings insight. The offender accomplishes what we could not accomplish for him. He is often able to free himself of earlier prejudices and from the strong affective currents of earlier life which constricted and colored the vision of himself. Of course, not all men go through this. For some, the road is to further evasions, apathy, prison stupor, and the complete disintegration of their personality. But however complete the total vision of themselves may be, they may feel unable because of insufficient social facilities to achieve a practical gain from this insight. These men no longer feel driven to crime, but fatalistically accept it as the only remaining avenue of conduct.

In the earlier part of the paper we have interpreted crime as symbol of incomplete development, or an ineffective retreat from aims no longer tenable. The correctional worker, then, must examine the life process of the individual to see what is taking place and, incidentally, to guide his treatment.

The fixations along this life line, the fictitious untenable advances, and the consequent regressions, should be recorded in the notebook of every worker. When these concepts are clearly understood, we no longer will be surprised to see an egocentric aggressive robber

break down in prison, to assume the pattern of a defeated and persecuted personality, or the career swindler falling prey to an hysterical paralysis and whining for nursing care. Nor will we find difficulty in understanding the sudden surprising breakdown in what appeared to be a successful career. With the nature of the crime group and the crime problem thus viewed, we are in a better position to chart and gauge our therapeutic course and the therapeutic difficulties. This is true whether we contemplate the more exhaustive psychoanalytic technique or limit ourselves to general principles of mental health or find some position intermediate to these two. It should be stressed here that psychotherapy should not be practiced solely by the skilled psychiatric worker, but should in varying degrees, depending on skill and knowledge, be part of the effort of every correctional worker. To this end, the therapeutic objective should be so clearly envisaged that each worker can evaluate his efforts with respect to the treatment goal.

Our most severe handicap in this connection lies in the fact that we must operate in an authoritarian set, and assume two functions, one not easily reconciled to the other. It is difficult for us successfully to supervise, and at the same time fully respect the conditions of treatment. This inability to serve two functions properly does not escape observation by the criminal, and necessarily impairs his confidence in the therapeutic effort of those he knows to be also his custodians. Two prime conditions of treatment are immediately violated in that, first, the offender does not come willingly to the interview, unless he indeed feels seriously threatened by his problem, and secondly that he doubts the confidential handling of his disclosures. The resistances encountered are such as would test the skills of any who would treat.

The average offender does not regard himself as being mentally sick. He has developed attitudes, explanations and disguises, which satisfy him that he is not at fault and that the reasons for his failures are to be found in external environment. Now a common error we all make is that we attempt to reason men out of their attitude and ideas; we hammer away at them on a rational basis, when the underlying ground for such attitudes is emotional. This is as futile an endeavor as trying to reason a delusional patient out of his delusion. It just can't be done. Now it is possible that we may superficially accomplish something, but nothing of a fundamental character; indeed, at times it may be harmful to achieve this superficial type of agreement. The rational acceptance of a point of view not emotionally supported is almost a denial of the

real problem, and invites later failure. To achieve lasting results, these underlying emotional constellations must be broken down. This focal approach is unproductive for the further reason that it attacks what the subject most defends—this is particularly true of the schizoid and ego-centric group. This is essentially an attack upon his ego, compelling him to dig in and build further and stronger defenses, thus increasing resistance. Certainly, there is no therapy in this relationship. On the contrary, we are developing a duel between subject and therapist, and the question becomes one of victory. This is excellently demonstrated in a recent clash between a teacher and her student, in which the irate teacher said, "I will break his will; he will not break mine." The ego of the worker should not be an issue; we are not given this work to do to bolster our own security; and, furthermore, we can stand psychological defeat more than can the subject. Yet more mistakes are made here than in any other phase of personality relationship.

A lack of confidence on the part of the subject is equally disastrous. We recognize that frank revelation of one's psychic content may reveal one in an unfavorable light. What will be the effect of these revelations upon those of use who have the additional authoritative role? Heretofore, in the experience of the offender, it has been uniformly bad—judge, prosecutor, prison keeper, parole and probation workers, all take active steps against potential dangers disclosed. The offender is penalized. The psychiatrist especially is placed in a very difficult position. The effect on the criminal is of course an increase of evasiveness, and uncommunicativeness. We can still diagnose personality with a fair degree of accuracy, and detect strong underlying complexes, but a total picture is difficult to obtain when the offender regards it as a threat to himself.

Some of the therapeutic considerations worth discussing are illustrated in the experiences we had with a case in a Buffalo Clinic. The subject chosen had a relatively hopeless outlook. He came of poor background, had a long criminal history, was a disciplinary problem in prison, and underwent a psychotic episode at one time. He was unemployed and on parole at the time of our contact. The patient was invited to an interview, and presented his problem as he saw it. He was immediately given material assistance sufficient to cover his needs. This was done as a matter of course, and without any conditions attached. The interviews continued for a period of 1½ years, and long after material assistance had ceased. This willingness on his part to persistently return

for a weekly discussion was an indication that the first therapeutic condition was satisfied.

What was the position of the therapist in relation to the subject? The subject was thoroughly accepted and treated as an equal. There was no moralistic rejection of his behavior, no authoritarian approach; his personality was thoroughly respected. When he arrived at the appointed hour, he enjoyed full privacy; in short, he was treated as if he were a private patient. This interview for him had a definite meaning, in contrast with the attitude of parolees, or many of those on probation, toward their own compulsory interview—usually preceded by a long wait, and in common contact with other offenders. The psychological effect of this is anything but therapeutic, according to the testimony of many going through this experience. The things which loomed large in the subject's mind were thoroughly considered, however unimportant they might seem to the therapist. As the psychiatric relationship progressed favorably, the parole supervisor demanded fewer contacts. This was a well-advised concession. We should never be afraid to give up a case when we know that someone else has established a better rapport, or when our own rapport has proven inadequate. We kept in mind in working with our subject, that failures of one kind or another were to be expected. We avoided at any time allowing him to feel that it was a "one more chance" affair, a such a feeling usually puts great stress on the personality. When the subject gave up his employment for reasons which were strictly within himself, he was not censured or rejected. The criticism of this procedure was eventually supplied by himself. It may be mentioned that these therapeutic interviews covered material that he thought was worth discussing—his life, experiences, interests, problems, etc.

After some months, at a time when his adjustment was progressing favorably, and after a certain financial adequacy had been attained, a rather interesting reaction was observed. In his spontaneous discussion, his thoughts began to turn toward crime. He began to speculate on the possibility of committing one more profitable crime, reviewed arguments in favor of such conduct, pointed out the futility of working for someone else—all this in a musing, philosophical manner. He became much more productive of this matter; there was a compulsion to think about it; this even invaded his dream life.

Parole officials interested in the case were becoming concerned at this development and debated their course of action, fearful of gambling with the case, and contemplated his return to prison. The temptation to take any strong action was resisted, as it was recognized that this resurgence of criminalistic ideas occurs in many cases, if not at all. The regressive phenomenon observed here, may represent a psychological need for going back to the past, so common with all of us. It may represent an indirect expression of guilt. It may have other obscure significance. To us it did not indicate impending failure, as it is observed in many cases of successful readjustment. It should be noted that in this instance, it was limited to phantasy life and did not ultimately translate itself into actual behavior. This case illustrates well that the course to recovery is never a smooth one. There will be many setbacks, due possibly to psychological need of punishment, in some cases due to need of security. We cannot expect an uninterrupted march to absolute recovery. In psychotherapy, these regressive phenomena are often good signs. They are testing points for the personality. Just as in the treatment of the alcoholic, we anticipate further sprees; but if they grow less severe and less frequent it means that we are making headway. It was not our intention to discuss this case in all of its details; it is used to illustrate a few therapeutic principles. Suffice it to say that the fears of recurrent crime did not materialize.

One point deserves special mention—that in dealing with offenders, psychotherapy must be supplemented at every turn by sociotherapy to insure maximum success. We are dealing with men often deficient in some of the basic assets—intellectual, vocational, social and educational.

In conclusion, psychotherapy on the criminal is in its earliest beginnings. Yet we have already ground for the belief that once we have learned to surmount the special difficulties inherent in the correctional set-up, we will find the work of mental hygiene fully as fruitful with the offender as in other cases.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES IN CONSTITUTIONAL
PSYCHOPATHIC INFERIORITY*

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PART I (concluded)

D. THE RECORDS

The number of cases on which our statistics are based is 208. Actually, the total number of individual subjects on whom records were made amounted to 280. The difference between these figures is due to the fact that, in 72 cases, our criterion of reliability was never obtained. In spite of many repeated runs, the day-to-day records varied so much that no true normal picture of functioning could be found. Such inconstancy of functioning made it impossible to utilize these records. While it is realized that exclusion is a dangerous procedure because of the possibility of selection, it is stressed that the sole determinant for exclusion was unreliability. Twenty-four of these 72 had been diagnosed CPIs (Constitutional Psychopathic Inferior) and 48 were control subjects.

Now of the 208 cases that showed reasonable agreement as between first and second runs, some records from the control group seemed more closely to resolve into the pattern established for the CPI group and visa versa. Examination of such records point to certain similarities between the groups, but of more importance is the fact that the histories

* The first portion of Dr. Lindner's article appeared in the October 1942 issue of *The Journal*.

of the Ss who fall into this category as well as the psychiatric findings, contain elements which lead one to suspect in each case inaccuracy of diagnosis. Of the 105 CPIs used as Ss, 29 presented records which could be confused with those obtained from control subjects: of the 103 control subjects, 21 presented records which could be confused with those obtained from CPIs.

From all of the above, it is evident that there is a possibility that our method may lead to the development of a gross screening procedure capable of sorting possible CPIs from so-called normals. How fine this method is we have no way of knowing from the foregoing, since much work has yet to be done. Only when this procedure is carried over to other groups and diagnostic categories will it be known whether we are in possession of an instrument of reasonable diagnostic accuracy.

To check the possibility that this method can be used in a diagnostic way a series of experimental runs were made with a random selection of 25 members of the prison population. The experimenter had no previous knowledge of any of these Ss. On the basis of polygraphic recordings alone, a diagnosis of CPI was made in 6 of these cases. The diagnosis was confirmed in five of the six cases by the psychiatric staff.

It is the writer's contention, however, that the demonstration of the diagnostic applicability of the photopolygraph is not so important as the evidence it yields of differential response patterning in the respiratory, circulatory and galvanic fields.

It is recommended that further research be undertaken by psychologists and psychiatrists to factor out other physiological concomitants of the behavior entity known as constitutional psychopathic inferiority. It would seem that electroencephalography and biochemistry offer much along these lines, and there is undoubtedly a need for the results outlined above to be investigated further in other laboratories and by other research workers.

PART II: SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

The survey which follows was prompted by a need to obtain reliable information regarding the groups with which we have been dealing in an experimental way (Part I), as well as to compare them in a graphic manner. The confusion in which the symptomatology, developmental history and other aspects of CPI rests, calls for at least a rapid review of certain pertinent features of life-history, habit, and other psychological and sociological factors.* While the writer regards the personality in a holistic manner, he believes that its special interacting components can be understood as predisposants, orienting the organism in explicit, nicely-defined paths; the traumas, insults and other impingements of the environment upon the personality (i. e., virus diseases, accidents, or analytically important events) are conceived of as precipitants, behaving toward the underlying personality, altering it and revising it as the catalytic agent in the chemist's experiment.

Accordingly, certain factors, obtainable with relative ease, and verified through the agencies at the disposal of the writer, were separated out and are herewith presented. Examination of the following material should aid in factoring out those sociological and psychological elements which, pragmatically, support the diagnosis of Constitutional Psychopathic Inferiority.

After our experiments were concluded, the information below was obtained and tabulated. The percentage was found to be the best expression of amount.

Table I indicates the distribution of our experimental and control populations in terms of place of birth, descent and race. The small percentage of the Negro and Mulatto groups probably reflect the composition of the institutional population rather than the inclination of either group toward psychopathy. It is interesting to note, however, that although selection of subjects was made on the basis of symptomatology, almost twice as many Negroes fell into the psychopathic group as the control group.

* Cf. Bibliography, Part I.

TABLE I.

Ethnography and Genealogy

Race	% C	% X
Caucasian	92.4	89.6
Negro	5.4	10.4
Mulatto	2.2	—
Nativity		
U. S. A.	78.3	92.4
Italy	5.4	—
Russia	3.2	—
England	3.3	—
Germany	2.2	—
Others	7.6	7.6
Descent		
Uniform	87.2	87.5
Mixed	12.8	12.5
Uniform American	43.0	75.0
Place of Birth		
Middle Atlantic States	26.1	17.1
Middle Western States	22.8	12.4
Southern States	12.0	30.5
Border States	4.4	19.1
Western States	1.1	1.4
New England States	7.6	10.5
U. S. Possessions	4.4	1.4
Foreign Born	21.7	7.6

Under nativity we note that most of our experimental group were born in the U. S. A.; only a small percentage were of foreign birth; and the control group shows more individuals born abroad. Descent is divided about equally; but it seems a curious fact that uniform American descent (both parents having been born in the U. S. A.) contributes to 75% of CPI subjects and only 43% of control subjects. This evidence would seem to question the sociologist's contention that homogenous parentage makes for greater stability in the offspring. So far as more circumscribed ethnography is concerned, it appears that the Southern States contribute a higher percentage of psychopathic individuals than other regions. This is made more significant when we come to consider

that the bulk of the population in the institution in which these studies were made comes from the middle Atlantic and middle Western States.

Table II presents personal data on age, marital status and education. The CPI group is younger, age 26 falling at about the mean level; while 37 is the mean for the control subjects. Marital status is, of course, definitely related to age, and would account in a large measure for the great difference in this respect between the groups.

TABLE II

Personal Data		
	% C	% X
Age		
21 & below	6.5	27.4
21-29	18.5	53.8
30-45	47.8	17.0
45 & above	27.2	1.8
Marital Status		
Single	26.1	70.8
Married	58.7	17.0
Separated	5.4	7.5
Divorced	6.5	4.7
Widowed	3.3	—
Education		
Grade School	53.3	68.9
High School	33.7	30.2
University & beyond	13.0	.9

When education is considered, some interesting items appear. From the table it seems that both groups possess comparable educational histories in many respects. A few more CPIs can boast of grade school educations, more controls have attended high school, while controls contribute a larger share to the university. The breakdown, however, sets these data in a different light.

TABLE IIb

Education Breakdown		
	% C	% X
Grade School		
8th grade	63.3	42.5
7th grade	12.2	20.6
6th grade	4.1	13.7
5th grade	12.3	12.3
4th grade	4.1	8.2
3rd grade	4.0	2.7
High School		
12th year	40.2	9.4
11th year	6.4	12.5
10th year	25.8	28.1
9th year	25.8	50.0
University		
Graduate & beyond	25.0	—
Junior year	33.3	—
Sophomore year	8.3	—
Freshman year	33.3	—

The percentages in Table IIb refer to the percent of each group that discontinued schooling at various periods during the years when they were being educated. Of the controls who went to grade school, 36.7% dropped out before completing the 8th grade. Of the CPI subjects who attended high school, 57.8% discontinued before the 8th grade. We also see that only 40% of the control subjects who went to high school reached the last year; while only 9% of CPIs got that far. Most CPI subjects dropped out of high school by the end of the tenth year. Approximately 1% of CPI subjects attended college. Of the control subjects who went on, 25% finished college and went further in graduate studies; the majority of them, however, left by the end of the third year.

In Table III we are presented with data on family, home and home life. Both groups are comparable in number of siblings. There seems to be little significance in order of birth, although it is evident that a few more psychopathic subjects are first born.

TABLE III

Familial Social Data

	% c	% x
Number of Siblings		
One	6.6	17.3
Two	14.2	13.4
Three	16.5	11.5
Four	18.6	15.4
Five	12.1	15.4
Six	8.8	5.8
More	23.2	21.2
Order of Birth		
First born	33.3	46.2
Second born	23.3	15.4
Third born	14.5	16.3
Fourth born	12.2	10.6
Fifth et suc.	16.7	11.5
Home Life to age 15		
Broken	74.7	66.0
Parents dead	30.7	9.5
Father dead	18.7	18.9
Mother dead	12.1	18.9
Parents separated	8.8	11.3
Parents divorced	2.2	6.6
Other reasons	2.2	1.0
Cordial	25.3	34.0
Economic Status of Parents		
Poverty-stricken	8.9	18.4
Marginal means	28.9	37.9
Moderate means	47.8	42.7
Well-to-do	14.4	1.0

A rather curious and contradictory fact appears under the heading of Home Life to Age 15. It would seem from our figures that CPI subjects come from homes, which in respect of death of parents, divorce and separation, were more cordial. Naturally, in any study the factor of 'cordiality' of the home must necessarily be a very unreliable one; the home may preserve its integrity and yet provide extremely unpleasant relationships among its members. Such data (quarrelling in the home, intro-familial strife, etc.) cannot be collected. The conclusion is,

then, that a smaller percentage of CPIs come from broken homes than control subjects; but this statement is of little significance in the face of the fact that such criteria of cordiality that we are forced to use are unreliable.

The percentages gathered on parents' economic status show a greater number of CPIs originating in impoverished homes, and a greater number in families of marginal means; only the smallest percentage of CPIs come from well-to-do families. This data is important from a sociological point of view, for it bears directly on associations formed in childhood and opportunities presented by the rent-area in which the children were reared.

TABLE IV

Personal and Family Medical History

	% C	% X
Physique		
Athletic	65.2	88.7
Asthenic	17.4	7.5
Pyknic	17.4	3.8
Defects and Diseases		
None	46.7	46.2
Present	53.3	53.8
Alcohol and Drugs		
Use neither	19.6	11.5
Habitual alcohol	15.6	22.9
Moderate alcohol	58.8	41.0
Habitual drugs	—	1.6
Moderate drugs	2.0	—
Mod. drugs & mod. alcoh.	2.0	18.0
Mod. drugs & hab. alcoh.	2.0	5.0
Family Medical History		
Negative	78.3	85.8
Positive	21.7	14.1

Table IV reveals that the body-build of CPI subjects is more likely to be athletic than asthenic or pyknic, and that the distribution of types among control subjects shows a different pattern. Under alcohol and drugs we find that a larger percentage of control subjects refrain

entirely, more CPIs have made the use of alcohol habitual with them, but less use liquor moderately. A sizeable group of CPIs use alcohol and drugs moderately. The fact that no control subjects use drug habitually indicates (together with the data on the habitual and moderate use of alcohol that CPIs tend, so to speak, to "go the whole hog." Material collected under defects and diseases shows no difference between our groups. Family medical history reveals a greater percentage of negative history among psychopathic subjects. For this compilation, parents, grandparents and associated members of the family, such as aunts, uncles and cousins were considered. Table IVb shows the breakdown of positive percentages from both the maternal and paternal sides.

TABLE IVb

Positive Family Medical History

	% C	% X
Paternal Positive		
Alcoholism	30.7	16.6
Tuberculosis	30.7	16.7
Cancer	15.4	8.3
Insanity	15.5	16.7
Epilepsy	7.7	—
Diabetes	—	41.7
Maternal Positive		
Alcoholism	7.7	—
Tuberculosis	23.1	20.0
Cancer	38.4	40.0
Insanity	15.4	—
Diabetes	15.4	40.0

This table is especially significant for the preponderance of diabetes among the families of CPI subjects. The present writer has no explanation to offer for this curious phenomenon, but can only point out that 40% of the forebears of CPI subjects were afflicted with this disease on each side of the family. Aside from this, it will be noted that in most of the other categories, percentages for CPI family history are smaller than for controls.

Our next consideration is employment history and migratory instability. The percentage of CPI subjects who demonstrate a high rate of

mobility is almost double that of control subjects, the majority of whom are either settled or moderately mobile. This fact is reflected in percentages appearing under the number of jobs held until the time of incarceration. Here we find that 37% of our CPI subjects have held (although, be it remembered, they are younger) eight or more jobs, as contrasted with 14.6% of the controls who fall in the same category.

TABLE V

Employment History		
Occupation	% C	% X
Unskilled	18.5	49.1
Skilled	42.4	35.8
Business	32.6	5.7
Professional	6.5	.9
No occupation	—	8.5
No. of jobs held		
None	6.2	8.5
One	4.2	13.5
Two	22.9	8.5
Three	16.7	6.8
Four	12.5	11.8
Five	8.3	5.1
Six	10.4	3.4
Seven	4.2	5.1
Eight and more	14.6	37.3
Migratory Instability		
Settled	41.7	18.6
Unsettled	27.1	20.4
Roving	31.2	61.0

So far as occupation is concerned, the bulk of CPI subjects falls in the lower levels of unskilled and skilled laboring employment. A small percentage have never held jobs, and relatively few have been able to overcome educational handicaps to the extent that they can participate in business and professional activities. CPIs also show a smaller group in the skilled classification as compared with control subjects. The breakdown of employment history shows no differences to exist in the classification of jobs among the groups in each occupational area with

the exception of a prevalence of farmhands among CPI subjects in the unskilled jobs, and in the skilled occupations a wider range of capabilities among control subjects.

Table VI presents the results of the administration of the Revised Alpha intelligence test and the completion of the paper-and-pencil personality Data Sheet as prepared by Woodworth.

TABLE VI

Intelligence and Personality Scales		
	% C	% X
Intelligence		
Below average	21.8	32.7
Average	37.2	46.1
Above average	41.0	21.2
Woodworth Sheet		
Stable	75.0	66.3
Unstable	21.4	27.0
"Psychoneurotic"	3.6	6.7

An interesting field for speculation and further work presents itself with these results. According to many authorities, CPIs are supposed to possess average or better than average intelligence. Now while it is true that the majority of our CPI cases fall in this category, a sizeable portion of the group registers below average intelligence; that is, test results fall in the range of I. Q. 70-90. As a matter of fact, with our subjects, more CPIs fall in this range than do control subjects; and less of them fall in the above average intelligence classification (I. Q. 110 *et seq.*) It is interesting, too, that stability, as measured by Woodworth's Sheet, discloses a smaller percentage of CPI subjects as stable, a slightly larger percentage as unstable and psychoneurotic. These results reflect directly upon the ability of the Personality Data Sheet accurately to gauge stability in a practical way. Measured by the criteria which the psychologist, psychiatrist and administrative officers in a detention institution use, the Data Sheet seems inadequate.

Our next stage of inquiry was directed against the criminal and institutional histories of our subjects.

TABLE VII

Criminal and Institutional History		
	% C	% X
Current Offense		
vs. property	88.0	83.9
vs. persons	6.5	3.8
other crimes	5.5	12.3
Reasons for Current Offense		
Economic	65.2	72.6
Associations	19.6	15.1
Circumstantial	8.7	5.7
Political	2.2	—
Alcoholic	4.3	—
Excitement	—	6.6
Length of Present Sentence		
1 year	21.7	7.5
1-2 years	13.0	13.2
2-3 years	20.7	35.0
3-4 years	17.4	22.6
4-5 years	4.4	5.7
5 and more years	22.8	16.0
Institutional Offenses		
None	97.8	79.0
One	2.2	8.6
Two	—	2.9
Three	—	1.9
Four or more	—	7.6

Crimes against property constituted the great majority of reasons for commitment with both groups. Fewer CPIs are serving time for crimes against person. This fact is of course a reflection of the offenses for which the Government of the United States exacts punishment. Undoubtedly another institution would show a different distribution of crimes. However, if each category is examined it is disclosed that in crimes-against-property, CPIs run mainly to auto theft, while control subjects divide their activities among embezzlement, counterfeiting, etc., with not a single case of auto-theft appearing. Other crimes which appear with the CPIs and not with the control subjects are escape and parole violation. In crimes-against-persons, CPIs run off with the honors

for assault (75% as against 33% for the control subjects) and sodomy. It is also a matter of interest that none of our CPI subjects committed homicide, while this crime does appear among controls. Control subjects also commit diversified sex offenses, while CPIs are generally restricted to perverse sexual activities.

Reasons for the commission of the offense for which our subjects were serving at the time of this survey were obtained by questioning. This is not, of course, a reliable or valid method, but the information gleaned was interesting. A larger percentage of CPIs than control subjects gave economic causes as the direct reason for their crimes. CPIs also showed a tendency to blame the structure of our society for their economic difficulties, or at least to shift the blame from themselves to some inclusive rubric such as "The New Deal," "this system," etc. Furthermore, a smaller percentage of CPIs blamed the influence of companions and associates for their involvement in crime. And while none of the controls gave excitement as a motivating factor, 6.6% of the CPIs admitted they "were out for the thrill" when they performed the act which landed them in the penitentiary.

CPIs contribute higher percentages to those serving two to four years in prison. This is because their crimes run so frequently to auto-theft and other activities which carry moderate penalties. Only a small percentage of them are serving only one year, while less of them than controls are serving five and more years.

Institutional history seems more fraught with hazards for CPIs than for control subjects. The latter usually offend against institutional regulations but once, and having learned that this is a dangerous procedure, settle into obedience. Psychopathic subjects, however, are unable to profit from experience, and more than 20% are continually involved in difficulties during their careers behind walls.

In the interest of completion, the early criminal history of psychopathic subjects was examined. Table VIII presents the highlights of this survey.

TABLE VIII

Early Criminal History of CPI Subjects

	% x
Age at First Offense	
12 or below	16.0
13-15	14.0
16-18	34.0
19-21	17.0
Over 21	19.0
Nature of First Offense	
Misdemeanors	36.8
vs. property	53.8
vs. persons	9.4
Disposition of First Offense	
Released	40.0
Suspended	3.0
Probated	7.0
Fined	9.0
Institutionalized	41.0

The overwhelming majority of CPIs became involved with the law before the age of twenty-one. Ages sixteen to eighteen include the peak of the curve, and only 19% of the group committed their first offense after twenty-one. These first offenses ran to misdemeanors and crimes against property, the latter containing the bulk of cases. In the disposition of such cases by the courts, we find that 41% of the group were institutionalized as a result of their earliest crime, 40% were released, and 19% handled through suspension, probation and fines.

If from the foregoing data we attempt to reconstruct the picture of the typically psychopathic subject as he appears in the experiments described in Part I, our description of him will run somewhat as follows:

He is white, having been born in the United States of native-born parents. The state of his birth is a Southern or Border (of divided loyalty during the Civil War) State. He is twenty-six years old, unmarried, with an eighth grade education. The chances are that he is the first born of two children. His home, which is in a low rent area and of marginal means, has been broken through the death of the father or mother, or their separation, before he has reached fifteen years of age. He presents an athletic appearance, uses alcohol moderately, has a moderate inclination toward the use of both alcohol and drugs. There is a likelihood that there is diabetes on both sides of his family, but his own medical history is similar to that of the rest of the population.

He is likely to be employed on jobs calling for little skill or pick-and-shovel activities. In spite of his youth he has held upwards of five jobs during his career. His tendency is to keep on the move, finding employment where he can and never remaining long in one place. He is of average intelligence.

At the present time he is serving about three years for autotheft. When he commits sexual offenses they are likely to be perverse in character. In prison he is an offender against institutional regulations. He claims that economic causes have driven him to crime and for his economic failure he usually blames agencies other than himself or conditions of his own making. His first crime was committed at an early age, under twenty-one, around eighteen. This early offense was a misdemeanor or a crime against property, and the court which heard his case either released him or subjected him to probation, suspension or fine.

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WAR TIME RACKETS*

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Over the years there has always been a great number of rackets but now due to the conditions brought on by World War Two, with fat pay checks in most war workers pockets, many of the well known confidence games have taken on new proportions and variations throughout the land.

The men in our squads have intensified their work around the stores, and hotels, because of the unusually heavy influx of strangers in Detroit, many of them being in the city on business while others have come for jobs in war plants.

Detroit to date has been rather fortunate in not having many cases where persons have been victimized in the various war rackets and schemes. However, through correspondence with other police departments in the United States, from Hotel bulletins, from material compiled by the Better Business Bureaus in the country and from talking to other veteran police officers, I will attempt to outline some of these schemes in an effort to familiarize others with them as an aid in future investigations by bringing this material up to date.

New Methods

House to house solicitors selling metal tags as necklaces and bracelets, falsely claiming that the law requires all citizens to wear such identification.

* This article is reprinted by permission of its author, Dep.-Insp. Charles Searles, also through the courtesy of the Hon. John A. Warner, Supt. N. Y. S. Police. The article originally appeared in New York State in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation, Vol. 7, No. 12, December, 1942. Because of its general interest to workers in the field of Criminology it is being reprinted in this publication.

Fakers offering to test and refill fire extinguishers which are not in the need of refilling, or the selling of sand, falsely claiming it to be "specially tested" for effectiveness in extinguishing incendiary bombs.

Salesmen selling first aid kits, falsely claiming to represent the Government or the Red Cross, and advising housewives to "buy before the next blackout or be fined \$25."

Another is phony air-raid wardens selling fire extinguishers, claiming that the Government requires all householders to have at least one on hand.

Persons soliciting orders for what they call "official" service flags. Fakers soliciting cash donations from housewives on the false plea that such donations will "help the City buy air-raid sirens," or attempting to palm off worthless gadgets as "protection against air-raids."

Chislers posing as "priorities experts," offering information and services to business men at fees ranging from \$10 to \$15; this information is readily available at the War Production Board offices without charge.

Agencies and individuals promising to obtain birth certificates, citizenship papers, collecting exorbitant fees and failing to produce promised certificates. Irresponsible insurance salesmen who falsely claim that their policies will cover a man in military service.

Fake Service Men

Fake service men obtaining radio, vacuum cleaners, and other appliances from unsuspecting housewives on the pretext of repairing them in cooperation with the government "War Waste" program, and the failing to return them.

Fake real estate men accepting a down payment to obtain a war worker a home and failing to produce the home.

There have been several complaints brought to the attention of various police organizations of those donning a uniform of one of the various branches of the United States Armed Forces for the sole purpose of obtaining money under false pretenses, such as cashing checks, obtaining merchandise at department stores, credit at hotels for lodging, food, drinks and transportation.

Such a man, who was recently arrested in Detroit, posing as a Major in the Army Intelligence Corps, and wearing a Major's uniform with the

proper insignia to indicate he was connected with the Military Police, and equipped with phony credentials, and who swindled a chance acquaintance out of \$50.00, when he was being questioned, said "Why did I wear the uniform? Why it gave me an entrance to places and circles that a civilian doesn't have. Especially valuable in the confidence game you know."

Work Pay Days

Men have been arrested around war plants on pay days, after the workers have had their checks cashed, swindling them of their money by enticing the workers to play the well known game of three card monte, in which the citizen does not have a chance to win, also shooting crap with crooked dice, selling the workers phoney diamond rings and furs.

The rubber shortage and the Tire Rationing Plan has opened up a field to the confidence men to operate their racket in various forms, such as contacting a victim who is eager to purchase a tire, telling him that they have access to a stock of tires, which sometimes they infer are stolen, the victim is then talked into giving his money for the purchase of the tires to the con man with instructions to drive him to a certain address to obtain the tires, where the purchaser waits while the con-man goes into the building, explaining that he will return with the merchandise. After waiting for a period of time the victim usually investigates and discovers that the man who had taken his money has no connection with the company and had hurriedly left the building by some exit which he could not observe from the place he had been told to wait.

Confidence men or women are usually clean cut, well dressed, well educated, and can carry on a conversation with any person. They possess an understanding of human nature, and are good psychologists and know just when to spring the trap.

PSYCHOPATHOLOGIC AND PSYCHOPATHIC
REACTIONS IN DOGS

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INTRODUCTION

The dog has been man's truest and most faithful friend from times immemorial. A pet to the children, a companion to the man, useful in the household, we do not appreciate his position because it is such a commonplace situation. It is difficult to imagine what our civilization would have been without a dog; it certainly would have been quite different from what it is now. Many of the dogs qualities are so much like ours, a fact which explains the reason for the close relationship. It is not to be supposed, however, that this resemblance to our make-up is the result of centuries of associations; rather it is that his genetic make-up is so close to ours. But for the fact that the monkey stands higher in the evolutionary scale, it might be said, without exaggeration, that psychogenetically the dog is even closer to us than the monkey. It is the dog who will repay man's observation and experiment and who most closely resembles him, on the one hand, in structure and functions, and on the other, in habits—and who is most intimately associated to him as companion, servant, pet. In his better qualities he excels the best in man.

This is a chapter from a forthcoming book *THE DOG, A PSYCHOBIOLOGIC STUDY*. Of necessity such a study must be based on a large amount of observational and anecdotal material gathered on dogs by man through centuries of association. In a sense, therefore, this work is but a vast plagiarism and the only claim to originality the authors may have is that they have attempted to sift the reliable from the merely anecdotal material, add their own observations and cement and integrate the material into a consistent whole.

The numbers in parenthesis refer to the bibliography.

in his worst he can hardly approach him. And nowhere are distinctions and similarities so clearly drawn as in the observance of abnormal reaction.

However, great caution must be used in regarding the quality of a human conscious process as identical with the quality of the corresponding process in the dog's mind; yet if we are to interpret it at all, we must interpret it humanly.

It is a mistake to believe that all dogs are alike. Not only does one breed of dog differ from another breed of dog, but there are well nigh differences within the same breed. Dogs have personalities and Pavlov has spoken of dogs that were extraverts and dogs that were introverts. It is doubtful, however, whether such very general terms as extraversion and introversion can begin to cover the vast variety of personality make-ups in dogs. Traits that are common to all dogs may become so accentuated in one dog and diminished in another that they may appear as two entirely different personalities.

1. *Emotional Lability*

Dogs are as stable and labile as humans. As in the latter so among dogs we find that of the predisposing causes of serious results from emotion, physical exhaustion is of importance. Thus the shock of joy, which might not prove fatal to the healthy dog, may be fatal to an animal that has performed a long weary journey, destitute of food, exposed to all weathers, before it sees once more the master whom it loved and longed for so much. Hence, the occurrence every now and then of instances of dogs reaching their masters' or mistresses' homes only to see them for a moment and die of consuming joy.⁽⁴⁸⁾ May not this be likened to the sudden demise of our seriously ill who appear to ward off death itself in waiting for a loved one only to succumb after their appearance? Furthermore, the emotional life of the dog is highly developed—more highly than that of any other animal. His gregarious instincts, combined with his high intelligence and constant companionship with man, give this animal a psychological basis for the construction of emotional character having a massive as well as complex consistency.⁽¹⁸⁾

Self-importance or pride is very conspicuously exhibited by well-treated dogs. As with man, so with the dog, it is only among those, who have previously enjoyed halcyon days and who have failed in these

pleasant places, and whose feelings may, therefore, be said to have profited by the refining influences of culture, that the emotions in question are displayed in any conspicuous measure. A 'low-life' dog may not like to have his tail pulled any more than a poor urchin may like to have his ears boxed; but here it is probably physical pain rather than wounded pride that causes the smart. Among 'high-life' dogs, however, the case is different. Here wounded sensibilities and loss of esteem are capable of producing much keener suffering than mere physical pain would; so that among such dogs a whipping produces quite a different and a much more lasting effect than in the case of their rougher brethren, who, as soon as it is over usually give themselves a shake and think no more of it. The strong effect of silent coldness shows that the loss of affectionate regard causes the dog more suffering than beating, starving or even the hated death.⁽¹⁸⁾

But when the dog has succeeded in reinstating itself in favor, when it is successful in its efforts at re-establishing amicable relations with the master whose slightest affection it so highly values—the animal's delight is unequivocally expressed; while, under opposite circumstances, as we shall see later, there is corresponding depression, despondency, or despair, all the shades of grief or sorrow, leading even to fatal pining for the affection that is refused or withheld.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Contrariwise, the dog is said to be "warm-hearted" to a degree that in man, or rather in woman, would be called "gushing" or effusive: there is in it an exuberance or extravagance of love or affection. The same animal is often said to be "overjoyed," to be "mad with joy" or in an "ecstasy of delight" at the mere anticipation of some simple pleasure, such as a walk with its master. It is capable also of profundity of sorrow, and in many other ways it shows a capacity for excess of feeling.⁽⁴⁸⁾

2. *Fear*

Animals are afraid of darkness for the same reason that children are. Thunder, lightning, and other violent meteorological phenomena, which inspire the primitive man with awe and, therefore, play a prominent part in the evolution of early mythology, produce a similar impression upon many of the lower animals, simply because they are mysterious noises which frighten the imagination and stimulate their mythopoeic faculty.⁽¹⁶⁾

Through a number of so-called positive traits that are in all probability related to fear, we are told that duty in the dog, or what is called

duty, is only a remnant thereof and the offspring of fear. No doubt in some cases this holds good. But the more closely the subject is studied in man, the more the unbiased student, compelled to admit that in him, too, duty is frequently the result of some degree or in some form of fear—fear of suffering from the consequences of neglecting it. There is no good reason to doubt, however, that, equally in the dog and in man, a major motive in duty or sacrifice is, sometimes at least, disinterested affection.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In the training of many dogs, the master establishes and maintains his ascendancy chiefly through fear. But it is doubtful if the appeal to fear alone could succeed in training the dog to be a useful companion. If, in training your dog, you use the whip too severely and the appeal to fear exclusively, you will find that, while you can effectively inhibit him from various actions, you have little power to induce positive active cooperation. For it is said, the impulse of fear is inhibitive and prohibitive; but docility comes from willing submissiveness. Any animal of a gregarious species may be trained to be friendly and obedient because it is endowed with the submissive instinct, which can be invoked if the right means are used. But with the solitary carnivora the case is different. In this respect the contrast between the cat and the dog is striking. The cat can be induced to perform tricks in the pursuit of its own ends, especially the securing of food; but it cannot be made docile or obedient in the full sense. It may come when you call it, if it has nothing better to do, and especially if it is hungry and is accustomed to being fed by you. But the well-trained dog will come at your call, no matter how little this response comports with its pursuit of other goals.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Perhaps the frequent and decided dislike shown by dogs toward strangers may be because the suspicious animal fears rivalry in the attraction of its master's attention or affection. Quite as striking and strange frequently as certain antipathies are certain apparently unreasonable predilections, and attachments giving rise to companionships and friendships of a remarkable kind.

Interesting and well known is the fact that a dog sets on a person who is running away or manifests an intention of escaping, with greater eagerness than it does on one who remains still. This does not arise mainly from the circumstances that the dog is in fear of counter-attack, and is, therefore, timorous, but it is usually due to the reaction of the prey, especially its flight whereby the passionate urge for pursuit and attack is increased; if the prey should suddenly stop; so will the dog.

This aggravation of excitement can be very clearly seen in a dog that is playing, for the longer it plays the wilder does it become, parenthetically, for this reason, too, one should not withdraw the hand when a dog bites playfully at it, because the withdrawal only stimulates him the more.⁽⁸⁾

3. *Antipathic Emotions*

As already mentioned, affront, insult or indignity of all kinds, or what they may so consider, even when it is not intended by man, is keenly felt by many sensitive dogs and other animals. They become passionate, angry or furious when subjected to physical insult and can be readily rendered so experimentally by man. The dog treats insult as man does, in the most opposite ways, either by unconcern and indifference (refusing to play) or passive punishment (running off with the play object).⁽⁴⁸⁾

a. *Envy and Jealousy*

As we know from human psychopathology, the two emotions, envy and jealousy, are closely related, though at the same time they should be carefully differentiated as well. Envy usually involves two people and the object of envy is something material whereas jealousy involves three, two of whom are competing for the possession of the third (*cherchez la femme*).

Envy is ascribed to many animals, especially to dogs. To the dog, the master takes the place of the older animals, the troop-leader, and very probably sexual tendencies, even in a modified form, also enter into the situation. The instinctive reasons for this attitude appear even more clearly in cases in which jealousy among animals exists in their mutual relations. Remarkable instances of this are seen in the companionship of several dogs in one family.⁽⁸⁾

Nevertheless, though dogs often disagree, and are jealous of each other at home, they generally make common cause against a stranger. Two dogs who were such enemies, and fought so constantly that they could not be kept together, seemed to have compared notes, and to have found out that they had both of them been bullied by a large powerful watch-dog, belonging to a farmer in the neighborhood. They suspended their hostility, formed an alliance and assaulted the common enemy.

Whatever sort of feeling jealousy may be considered, it is experienced by dogs, causing them to fret and lose their appetite. M. Blaze tells of a terrier that even killed a child because it was jealous of caresses bestowed by the child on a rival dog, while itself was neglected.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Partiality, of a master or mistress, real or supposed, at once begets jealousy, and there is no passion that burns so fiercely in either the animal or human, none that leads to more avoidable unhappiness and crime.⁽⁴⁸⁾

b. *Hate*

Just as the dog learns to react with fear at the sight or sound of those persons or objects which have evoked his fear in the past by inflicting pain, so he will learn to react with anger to the sight or sound of those who have teased him by trying to take away his bone, or by otherwise obstructing and thwarting his impulses to action.

Punishment, especially if undeserved or excessive—inflicted by passionate, thoughtless masters, ignorant of their own best interests, is always apt to lead, in the dog, to an outbreak of rage and fury, to sullen obstinacy, or to concealed feelings of keen resentment, which are gratified whenever a favorable opportunity for revenge presents itself.⁽⁴⁸⁾

4. *Dominance and Submissiveness*

We observe how a young dog will approach an older one in an attitude and with movements which we can describe only as deferential, conciliatory, deprecatory, or submissive. He crouches, his ears and tail hanging loosely, his back smoothed and hollowed, every detail expressing the absence of all defiance, an acknowledgement of the superior power of the other. The bigger or older dog, on the other hand, receives him in an attitude which we can hardly describe without such words as dignity, pride, condescension, sense of superiority or power.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Many dogs are pronouncedly infantile. This accounts for a great deal of the attachment of some animals for certain people who like nothing better than to have a dog which takes the attitude with regard to them that a puppy would display to its mother. The dog that is the playfellow of the human child or infant appears to recognize the irresponsibility of the latter for its thoughtlessness, its incapacity for proper behavior; and the result of such a measure of discrimination is won-

derful forbearance under the teasing or provocation to which the lower animal is sometimes habitually subjected by its cruel little human tyrant. The dog submits quietly to treatment from a child that it would at once resent from an adult,⁽⁴⁷⁾ and will suffer itself to be insulted with impunity by little curs, rather than punish them. The feeling of a dog towards his master is combined with a strong sense of submission, which is akin to fear. Hence dogs not only lower their bodies and crouch a little as they approach their masters, but sometimes throw themselves on the ground with their bellies upwards.⁽¹²⁾

5. *Self-love*

Animals know what they have to know in order that the species may continue, and they know little else. They do not have to reason. They have only to live and multiply, and for this their instincts suffice them. Neither do they have to have any of our moral sentiments. These would be a hindrance rather than a help.⁽⁷⁾

Dogs do kind things, but that is far from an everyday occurrence. Unlike human beings they are not likely to go around looking for publicity, praise or recompense. In general, the dog's liking for man is more vehement in its expression, and its attachment to its master more loyal than to its own species, they caring little, or not at all, for the companionship of their own kind. To the dog man is master and ruler. In such animals the want of the society of a loved master or mistress, of a human favorite of any kind, produces the same kind of effects as the absence or loss of a mate or of young in other animals.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Herein lies a strange secret of all love, which ever seeks the higher, and not the equal or the lower.

6. *Double-personality*

Hypocrisy (that is, "acting") is a trait shown by all weak animals in self-defence. Dogs are adept in putting on an air of innocence when they are fully sensible of having done wrong, and in craving pardon by expressions of mingled contrition and flattery when their guilt has been detected and exposed.⁽¹⁵⁾

The dog is capable of assuming a great variety of characters. He makes pretense of death, poisoning, wounds, recovery, dignity or humility, all with equal ease. He engages in imaginary quarrels with perfect control of temper and a thorough understanding of the difference

between the real and fictitious. He exhibits suitable feeling or expression, as well as gesture, attitude or action in his counterfeits, successfully simulating various passions or emotions.⁽⁴⁷⁾

If they do not tell, dogs at least elaborately, deliberately, and successfully act, lies, (slipping away from kennels and returning before the night is over). There is a wonderful amount of hypocrisy, too, in the invention of excuses for laziness or for the avoidance of irksome work—ruses that include, in addition to those mentioned, fatigue, flight or illness.⁽⁴⁷⁾

7. *Dream Life*

All the evidence we possess entitles us to infer that the dreams of other animals resemble in their character those of man; that in these dreams fancy is more or less vivid or morbid; that eccentricities, incongruities, aberrations of the imagination necessarily occur; that the nature of the imaginary incidents may be either pleasurable or the reverse.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Dogs in their sleep worry about imaginary enemies, or snap presumably at imaginary flies or other insect tormentors. In other words, in their sleep or dreams we can infer that they appear to engage in imaginary quarrels, games, pursuits, attacks. Dogs appear to hunt in their dreams too. During sleep movements of the tail and paws, sniffing, growling, barking occur. There is every reason to believe that there is frequently during sleep in the sporting dog imaginary pursuit of imaginary game; that this supposed pursuit gives rise to actual physical and mental excitement, including, for instance, eagerness, and panting for breath caused immediately thereby; and that this excitement sometimes causes the animal to awake. At first it is bewildered to find its actual position so different from that painted by a morbid fancy—no game where it expected to be “at the kill,” itself probably on a hearth rug before the dying embers of a library fire, or within the walls of its kennel. But it speedily realizes its error, distinguishes between fact and fancy, the imaginary and the real, becomes aware, in short, that it was dreaming, and again betakes itself to repose.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Somnambulism is said to be common, and most so in sickly, nervous, timid, ill-used animals, in whom sleep is most apt to be disturbed. There is here a further development of unconscious and involuntary bodily movement, a series of actions resembling those of the waking

state, in a condition closely resembling it. There is moreover, apparent vision; the eyes are open, though the animal does not appear to see material objects. The phenomena include purposive action: fearlessness, perhaps of objects that in the normal state of waking would inspire dread; firmness, and composure or coolness in emergency—perhaps from non-realization of the presence or nature of danger. The somnambulistic watch-dog prowls in search of imaginary strangers or foes, and exhibits towards them a whole series of pantomimic actions, including some of those which it displays in its dreams—such as barking.⁽⁴⁸⁾

8. *Elation — Depression*

Though perhaps not in the same degree and not as universal as in humans, dogs are definitely subject to heightening and lowering of mood and perhaps under similar circumstances. The dog's character depends very much on that of his master, kindness and confidence producing the same qualities in the dog, while ill-usage makes him sullen and distrustful—reactions which are comparable to those in man. Dogs petition for man's regard. Neglect may lead to mental depression, even of a permanent and serious kind, in the dog, which keenly feels what he considers non-appreciation by the master. Slight or neglect from him, whether real or imaginary, preys on its mind—such is the longing or hungering for his affection and attention. Many pet dogs find it impossible to endure insignificance. And a feeling of mere displeasure on the part of the animal will often cause a pet and petted dog to refuse food.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Some dogs have the amusing practice when restored to favor after some slight offense, of immediately picking up and carrying anything that is handiest, stone, stick, paper: it is a deliberate effort to please, a sort of good-will offering, a shaking of hands over the past.⁽¹⁸⁾

9. *Grief and Remorse*

As they are capable of experiencing depression, so dogs are capable of experiencing grief and remorse.

The true spirit of prayer—of the suppliant for mercy or pardon, of the petitioner for reconciliation and restitution to favor—are frequently contained in or conveyed by the mere look or attitude of the dog. The dog manifests its joy by its heightened impulse towards movement, its lively bearing, gaiety, and increased muscular tension. If disappointed, the muscular tension disappears; tail, head, and ears hang

down, the movements are slow and few. It is the very picture of grief. This is akin to the feelings of a human being who has just heard the news of a friend's death.

Death, lingering or rapid, as the case may be, results from grief or sorrow, usually inconsolable, vexation of spirit, the sense of disgrace, humiliation, wrong, shame, dishonor, regret and remorse, rivalry and jealousy, nostalgia, joy or surprise, sympathy with human misfortune or suffering, fear or fright.⁽⁴⁸⁾

There are innumerable, perfectly authentic instances of deaths from grief in various animals, death usually being preceded by self-starvation and marasmus. In the dog such a loss of friends and friendships leads to dejection or depression of spirits, followed or attended by refusal of comfort or consolation; in other words, the animal is really, as well as figuratively, "inconsolable."⁽⁴⁸⁾ To illustrate, it is related that in Lisle, a town of France, a poor dog once remained so long upon the grave where his master had been buried that the people of the place took pity upon him, built him a little house on the spot where he lay, and brought him his food there until he died.⁽⁵¹⁾ The sympathy of the dog for human suffering or trouble sometimes begets suffering in the animal itself; it cannot see a master or mistress ill or confined to bed, without itself becoming depressed and unhappy; and this misery may continue during the long illness of its human friend and companion. The very keenness of its sympathy with human emotion becomes sometimes a source of mental disorder.⁽⁴⁸⁾

10. *Guilt*

In humans grief and remorse often follow in the wake of guilt. It is legitimate therefore to ask whether dogs experience feelings of guilt based as it must be on a highly sensitive conscience.

Though almost anything may be affirmed of dogs, for they sometimes are considered nearly half human, yet one must doubt if even dogs experience the feeling of shame or guilt or revenge that we so often ascribe to them. These feelings are all complex and have deep roots.⁽³⁾

Such a feeling implies a sense of duty, and this is a complex ethical sense that the animals do not experience, certainly not in the sense that we do. What the dog fears, and what makes him put on his look of

guilt and shame, is his master's anger. A harsh word or a severe look will make him assume the air of a culprit whether he is one or not, and, on the other hand, a kind word and reassuring smile will transform him into a happy beast, no matter if the blood of his victim is fresh upon him.⁽⁸⁾

None the less we may speak quite correctly of the conscience-stricken animal thief; the signs of detected and acknowledged guilt are the same in kind as would be exhibited under similar circumstances by the human child. The dog, like the child, if rendered sensitive by previous moral training, shows unmistakably its consciousness of delinquency. Its look and demeanor alike eloquently bespeak its sense of detection and disgrace. As mentioned above, it understands its master's accusation as conveyed by eye, tone, word, gesture, and it either makes instant effort to escape the punishment which it knows it has incurred and deserved, or, if escape be hopeless, it, as calmly as may be, awaits the said punishment, and does not resent it, as it would did it feel it unmerited.

In certain cases the dog tries to make atonement for its thefts or other crimes—in the case of theft for instance, by the restoration of stolen goods to their proper owner; or in the case of a dog rebuked for greed as to food, by presenting to a starving fellow what itself did not need.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The feeling of shame in the dog is connected with a sense of guilt of having committed offense against man's solicitude of one kind or another, and dogs often possess a knowledge of dread of consequences.^(47 - 48)

11. *Suicide*

Strange as it may seem, suicides do occur in dogs. Most frequently it will occur in a cast-away dog, a dog that has been expelled from its master's household because of age, disease or loss of use. Perhaps for the first time in its life, the dog finds himself subject to persecution, misery. Much time however, may pass before the suicide is decided upon. The dog may struggle for awhile only to learn by the bitterest of experience what life is and what it is likely to be if continued. As in humans, so frequently observed in times of financial stress, it is not the privation as such, but the tremendous difference between what one had before and what one has to get along with now. When the depression hit the United States some 12 years ago, suicides occurred, in proportion, more frequently among those who were well-to-do only recently,

and then suddenly had to come down drastically to a lower level of living than those who never had much. Fundamentally, animal psychology is the same the world over.

The dog that has thus come to consider suicide may be observed to reflect and hesitate before taking the final step; it may be seen, for instance, intently gazing on the water of a pond or river for hours, days, and weeks before making the final step, which indeed, is no different from the behavior of many humans in the same setting. But there is less, if any, buffoonery or gesturing with the dog. For once the dog has made up its mind, it becomes blind and deaf to all offers of salvation, resolutely securing its paws, if necessary, to keep itself submerged.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Age may be said to be the most important of all the causes of suicide in the lower animals, but in the dog drowning is by far the commonest mode, if we except self-starvation—obstinate and absolute abstinence from food (this resembling the behavior of catatonics). In the case of drowning in the dog, the sagacious animal simply selects the mode to which it has readiest access.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Another cause of suicide in the dog is the development in the animal of some acute regret and remorse over some happening, as for instance when in the "heat of passion" a dog is likely to commit an act which afterwards it will probably regret and for which they certainly have to suffer. Thus temporary irritation, loss of temper, anger in big dogs frequently leads to transient, blind, unreflective impulsive acts, even as soon as it is committed, they become ashamed of and remorseful, their usual magnanimity and forbearance having been overcome for the moment.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Stranger yet are those instances of dogs that will commit suicide from the very opposite and different reasons than the above mentioned. Among the luxuriously kept house pets suicide will sometimes take place out of sheer sense of ennui which⁽⁴⁷⁾ after all is not so different from humans, as is the case with neurasthenic women of the better classes who never have to work, have no responsibilities, have nothing to look forward to or to look back at; nothing to do but to look pretty and in the process get fat and bored, the familiar state of ennui.

B. Psychopathic Traits

When it comes to psychopathic traits the dog often displays behavior that is not unlike the human.

1. *Deception*

It is useful to remember that actual deception is not rare among the higher animals and numberless instances might be cited of deceitfulness as a trait in canine character.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The question may be asked, is a dog able to carry out a hypocritical action, do something that will give another an incorrect impression regarding its own motive and design? This type of action requires comprehensive insight, cunning and imagination. When we see two dogs fighting or playing together, we often find them carrying out these deceptive movements. Thus one tries to surprise, i. e. deceive, the other. If one of the combatants carries out a movement the other does not "understand," there is a good chance of a decisive result.⁽⁸⁾ One observer states that he once saw one drop a piece of bread that he would not eat, on the ground and lie down on it, then with an air of great innocence pretend to be looking for it.⁽³⁰⁾ Another observer recall that a dog having hurt his foot became lame for a time, during which he received more pity and attention than usual. For months after he had recovered whenever he was harshly spoken to, he commenced hobbling about the room as if lame and suffering pain from his foot. He only gave up the practice when he gradually perceived that it was unsuccessful.⁽¹⁸⁾ How closely it reminds us of the human neurotic who will press into service for his own particular hysterical reasons, an illness or deficiency.

2. *Malingering*

Closely related to deception as concerning underlying motivations, is malingering. Dogs have been known to feign sleep, in order to escape detection, and other equally ingenious modes of assuming the appearance of innocence are adopted by the same animal.⁽⁴⁸⁾ To illustrate by contrast it is well known that dogs, which are at once the drowsiest and most wakeful of domestic animals, according to their state of mind and circumstances, seem to sleep lightly or heavily at will. Nothing can be more slow, reluctant and leisurely than the enforced waking of a petted house-dog when it does not wish to be disturbed. It will remain deaf to a call, twitch its feet if tickled but not uncloset its eyes, and finally stretch and yawn like a sleepy child. But mention something interesting to the same dog when sleeping, such as the word "walk" or click the lock of a gun, and it is on its feet in an instant, and ready for adventure.⁽¹¹⁾

Again, it is quite common for the guilty but quick-witted dog to assume the aspect of ignorance or innocence, which may require long and close watching to detect—and only when it believes itself unwatched by man, will the little signs by which it betrays itself appear, the furtive look, the slinking gait, the avoidance of man.

Even if dogs can not talk, they certainly can lie by elaborate, deliberate and successful action. It is not unusual to observe a dog slipping away from kennels and returning before the night is over. There is a wonderful amount of hypocrisy, too, in the invention of excuses for laziness or for the avoidance of irksome work—uses such as illness, dying or death.

3. *Alcoholism*

The effects of alcohol on mind and body in the lower animals are of the same kind as those in man, varying in degree from simple transient, probably pleasurable, excitement from small doses up to sudden or speedy death from inordinate quantities.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Alcoholic inebriation in all its degree of tipsiness and drunkenness, a decided love or fondness for malt or spirituous liquors of almost every kind, occur in dogs. Just as in human dipsomania, no sort of personal consideration prevents the gratification of the morbid appetite. All the usual caution, love of life, fear of danger, affection for young, dread of punishment, are forgotten; all experience of capture or of suffering goes for nothing. The propensity becomes inveterate, incurable: it is a veritable form of acquired insanity. Yet temperance, so far as concerns alcoholic stimulants, is sometimes in the dog as in other animals, taught by experience: a fit of tipsiness, the fruit of incautious or thieving self-indulgence, may prove a salutary lesson.⁽⁴⁸⁾

4. *Criminal Behavior*

Dogs commit crimes and are aware of the criminal nature of their deeds. They, in common with other animals, will cheat, defraud or extort from each other or man, betray trust, accept bribes or commit burglary itself. They show a rebellious attitude against authority. As they may be taught other things, dogs may also be taught to steal. They frequently become confederates or accomplices of man in his crimes, in crimes intended exclusively for his benefit. They cooperate with him ingeniously, faithfully, zealously, and effectively in all manner of theft,

including shop-lifting, sheep-stealing, highway robbery, brigandage and smuggling, as well as in certain forms of murder. They act as man's implements, assistants or substitutes as the case may be, frequently playing their part in his absence and without any immediate or direct supervision.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Furthermore, so as not to allow man to get the better of him in criminal reactions, we learn to our surprise that dogs are as inconsistent in their ethics as men are; they appear to have different and varied conceptions of right and wrong. Thus a dog has been known to guard, with utmost honesty, its own master's property, while it didn't scruple to steal that of other people.⁽⁴⁸⁾ A dog which had been taught to steal sheep by his master, when he actually met his master, observed great caution in recognizing him, as if he had been afraid of bringing him under suspicion. Secondly, he showed a distinct sense that the illegal transaction in which he was engaged was not of a nature to endure daylight, for at dawn he would desert his spoil, and slink homeward by a circuitous road.⁽⁶⁶⁾

5. *Man's Inhumanity to Man and to Dog*

As a reflection on human intelligence, (or lack of it) dogs have been known to be punished for criminal or crime-like acts, sometimes very brutally. In terms that were very paradoxical if it didn't seem so ridiculous, laws have been enacted that a mad dog shall not be permitted to plead insanity in exculpation of itself but shall be "punished" with the punishment of a conscious and premeditated offence, i. e. by progressive mutilation, corresponding to the number of persons or beasts it has bitten, beginning with the loss of its ears, extending to the crippling of its feet and ending with the amputation of its tail. This cruel and absurd enactment was wholly inconsistent with the kindly spirit shown in the Avesta towards all animals recognized as the creatures of Ahuramazda, and especially with the many measures taken by the Indo-Aryans as a pastoral people for the protection of the dog.⁽¹⁵⁾

We also have the following record "If the criminal act was not fully consummated, then the human offender was publicly scourged and banished, and the animal, instead of being killed, was put away out of sight in order that no one might be scandalized thereby." (Jacob Dopleri "Theatrum Poenarum Suppliciorum et Executionum Criminalium, oder Schau-Platz derer Leibes-und Lebans-Straffen, etc. Sondershausen, 1693, II, p. 151).⁽¹⁵⁾

Mathias Abelle von Lilienberg in "Metamorphosis Telae Judiciar-iae" 1712, states that a drummer's dog in an Austrian garrison town bit a member of the municipal council in the right leg. The drummer was sued for damages, but refused to be responsible and delivered the dog to the arm of justice. He was released and the dog sentenced to one year's incarceration in a sort of iron cage on the market place.⁽¹⁵⁾

6. *Murder*

It is very doubtful, indeed there isn't a particle of evidence to support it, that dogs will commit murder in the same sense that we understand it; for ulterior motives and with malice aforethought. However, animals do kill one another and for the same reasons as humans do: (1) For predatory motives such as food, which corresponds to murder in humans for gain, (2) They murder each other frequently in the fight resulting from erotic excitement, or from rivalry for the possession of the female, which too, is close to our own home, (3) from rivalry which probably corresponds to our wars, (4) as a result of sudden unexplainable antipathies, (5) dogs have also been known to kill their own-infanticide.

Dogs and other animals frequently deal with the bodies of their murdered victims much as man does: they bury them carefully where they fancy they are not likely to be looked for.⁽⁴⁸⁾

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

An exhaustive study and search into the literature, as well as personal observations on psychopathologic and psychopathic reactions in dogs, leads us to believe that the behavior and emotional reactions in dogs show a great similarity to those found in humans. The following inferences may be drawn:

1. Dogs are as stable and labile as humans. They are subject to the same reactions as a result of wounded sensibilities and punishment, whether justified or not.

2. Fear is an emotion common to all animals. It is especially prominent in the dog. Properly directed, it plays an important role in the development of their sense of duty and sacrifice.

3. Guilt in the dog may be said to spring from the fear instinct and depend on previous moral training.

4. Envy and jealousy are experienced by dogs, and arise from and end in the same conflicting situations as in man; whereas hate is almost always the result of bodily punishment. In no instance is it known to displace love for the master once the love has been established.

5. Elation, depression, grief and remorse in the dog all depend very much on the character of its master and is a direct result of his regard, attention and treatment. Suicide, however, is most frequently the result of old age, disease or loss of usefulness, and less often due to changes in mood as a result of the preceding. Various means of accomplishing these ends are described.

6. Dogs show very little egocentricity and their whole life is bent towards submissiveness and attachment to their masters.

7. By their actions, dogs are capable of assuming a great variety of characters and may successfully act lies.

8. It can be inferred that the dream life of dogs resembles in character that of man and originates from previous experiences.

9. Dogs may be deceitful and may be detected in malingering. In such actions may simulate those of human neurotics.

10. It is doubtful whether dogs go to alcohol for the same reasons that humans do, but the effects and perpetuation of alcoholism and its resultant loss of personal consideration and responsibility are quite strikingly similar.

11. Dogs commit crimes by themselves or in company with man and are aware of the criminal nature of their deeds. Likewise, they are as inconsistent in their ethics just as men are and appear to have different and varied conceptions of right and wrong. Instances are cited where laws had been enacted to suffer dogs to be punished for their crimes.

12. Murder by dogs is committed for the same reasons as by humans, but often also is seemingly unexplainable.

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THE PSYCHOPATH AND THE PSYCHOPATHIC

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With involved and unsettled subjects such as psychopathic personality, it sometimes happens that a large number and variety of terms are used or suggested by different authors. The present note is concerned with the frequency with which synonyms for psychopath, psychopathic, constitutional psychopathic inferiority, etc., have been used. For the purpose of the present study, we have used 139 of the 638 summaries of articles, monographs, and books, which deal in one way or another with the psychopathic state, which we have recently compiled (*Summaries of Literature on Constitutional Psychopathy*. Springfield, Mo., July, 1942. Pp. 1790. Mimeographed). In the present study we have used 139 of these summaries, or all which include a treatment of the general nature, definition, or history of the psychopathic concept.

A list of the authors and dates of these 139 publications and summaries is given in Table I. The first item, "Rush, 1811," means that the summary of an 1811 publication by Rush dealt with the history, general nature, or definition of psychopathic personality, and that we have used a summary of this contribution in the present study. Only three of the publications and summaries used were before 1900, there were only five before 1910, and only 11 before 1920.

Using the 139 summaries referred to above, we have made up an alphabetical list of 202 words and phrases which the authors have used as more or less synonymous with the concepts of the psychopath and the psychopathic, and this list of terms is given in Table 2. The consecutive numbers on the left of these terms are included only for convenience. For the sake of clarity, it has been found more or less necessary to list all words and phrases separately which differed from each other in any way. For example, moral alienation,, moral insane, moral insanity, moral lunatic, morally insane, moral mania, moral paranoia, and moral parietic are all listed as separate items, even though there is

much overlapping and sometimes perhaps identity in meaning between some of the different pairs of terms.

We have tabulated the frequency of each of these items, and have noted whether the author (1) used the term positively or with implied approval, or (2) used the term negatively and criticized the term or claimed that it was only an historical term. A separate tabulation of the positive and negative usages of each term has been made. For example, in Table 2, item No. 34, "Constitutional psychopathic inferiority," was used positively 21 times and negatively six times. In the case of this item, the numbers 21 and six cannot be added because the same term was occasionally used both positively and negatively by the same author in the same summary. The scores for two or more of the terms also cannot be added, even though they may be closely related in meaning, because several terms are frequently used by the same author in the same summary.

The items from Table 2 which have a positive or negative frequency number of 10 or more are as follow:

10.	Born criminal	10-0
22.	Constitutional inferiority	15-2
30.	Constitutional psychopath	12-5
33.	Constitutional psychopathic inferior	11-2
34.	Constitutional psychopathic inferiority	21-6
40.	Constitutional psychopathic state	10-2
42.	Constitutional psychopathy	14-3
115.	Moral imbecile	10-9
116.	Moral imbecility	15-6
118.	Moral insanity	24-8
153.	Psychopath	41-0
154.	Psychopathic	37-1
171.	Psychopathic personality	72-12
176.	Psychopathic state	14-0
180.	Psychopathy	26-0

Several of these items, such as born criminal, moral imbecile, etc., have only an historical meaning.

The most striking general feature of the results seems to be the fact that the great majority of the terms have a very low frequency, but it is still interesting and possibly significant that such a large number of terms should have been used. It has almost been a fad to attempt to de-

vise new terms for the psychopath, and we have no suggestion to make on this matter at the present time. It may be remarked, however, that the frequency numbers of the words and phrases in the table seem on the whole to be a rather poor indication of the desirability of using the terms.

TABLE I
Summaries Used in Tabulating Frequency of Terms Used
Synonymously with the Psychopath and the Psychopathic

Rush, 1811	Burt, 1925
Prichard, 1837	Gleuck, 1925
Maudsley, 1868	Howell, 1925
Krafft-Ebing, 1904	Smith, 1925
Kraepelin, 1907	Burt, 1926a
Parmelee, 1911	House, 1926
Oberndorf, 1912	Huddleson, 1926
Karpas, 1913	Huddleson, 1926a
Karpas, 1916	Taylor, 1926
Lind, 1917	Tredgold, 1926a
Mercier, 1917	Brayant, 1927
Clark, 1920	Hutchings, 1927
Browning, 1921	Myerson, 1927
Shrubsall, 1921	Sullivan, 1927
Spaulding, 1921a	Wallin, 1927
May, 1922	Young, 1927
Scott, 1922	May, 1928
Southard & Jarrett, 1922	Haviland, 1929
Visher, 1922	Karpman, 1929
Anon, 1924	Moss, 1929
Bleuler, 1924	Orbison, 1929
Dooley, 1924	Tredgold, 1929
Johnson, 1924	Twitchell, 1929
Mateer, 1924	Foster, 1930
Richmond, 1924a	Hollingworth, 1930
Silk, 1924	Lichtenstein, 1930
Singer & Krohn, 1924	Partridge, 1930
White, 1924	Stragnell, 1930
	Alexander & Staub, 1931
	Gardner, 1931
	Kahn, 1931
	Stearns, 1931
	Pillsbury, 1932
	Roeling, 1932

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Smith, 1932 | Fink, 1938 |
| Hinsie, 1933a | Meyer, 1938 |
| Karpman, 1933 | Schaller, 1938 |
| McCartney, 1933 | Schneider, 1938a |
| Myerson, 1933 | Strecker & Chambers, 1938 |
| Weihofen, 1933 | Twitchell, 1938 |
| Brown, 1934 | Dorcus & Shaffer, 1939 |
| Garma, 1934 | Geiger, 1939 |
| Gillespie, 1934 | Henderson, 1939 |
| Lichtenstein, 1934 | Holbrook, 1939 |
| Mayer-Gross, 1934 | Hulbert, 1939 |
| McKendree, 1934 | Kuntz, 1939 |
| Mackenzie, 1934 | Muncie, 1939 |
| Morris, 1934 | Wilson & Pescor, 1939 |
| Myerson, 1934 | Humphreys, 1940 |
| Rees, 1934 | Karpman, 1940 |
| Schneider, 1934 | King, 1940 |
| Schroeder, 1934 | Landis, et al, 1940 |
| Scott, 1934 | Levine, 1940 |
| Strauss, 1934 | Maughs, 1940 |
| Conklin, 1935 | Michaels, 1940 |
| Karpman, 1935 | Nelson & Zimmerman, 1940 |
| Lange, 1935 | North, 1940 |
| Strecker & Ebaugh, 1935 | O'Donnell, 1940 |
| East, 1936 | Schilder, 1940 |
| Karnosh, 1936 | Zimble, 1940 |
| Sadler, 1936 | Bond, 1941 |
| Schorsch, 1936 | Branham, 1941 |
| Thompson, 1936 | Cleckley, 1941 |
| Braude, 1937 | Dickinson, 1941 |
| Bromberg & Thompson, 1937 | Dunn, 1941 |
| Glaus, 1937 | Jenkins & Crudim, 1941 |
| Karlan, 1937 | Karpman, 1941 |
| Ushchenko, 1937 | King, 1941 |
| Wholey, 1937 | King, 1941b |
| Bluemel, 1938 | Landecker, 1941 |
| Bushong, et al, 1938 | Mangun, 1941 |
| | Maughs, 1941 |
| | Menninger, 1941 |
| | Taylor, 1941 |

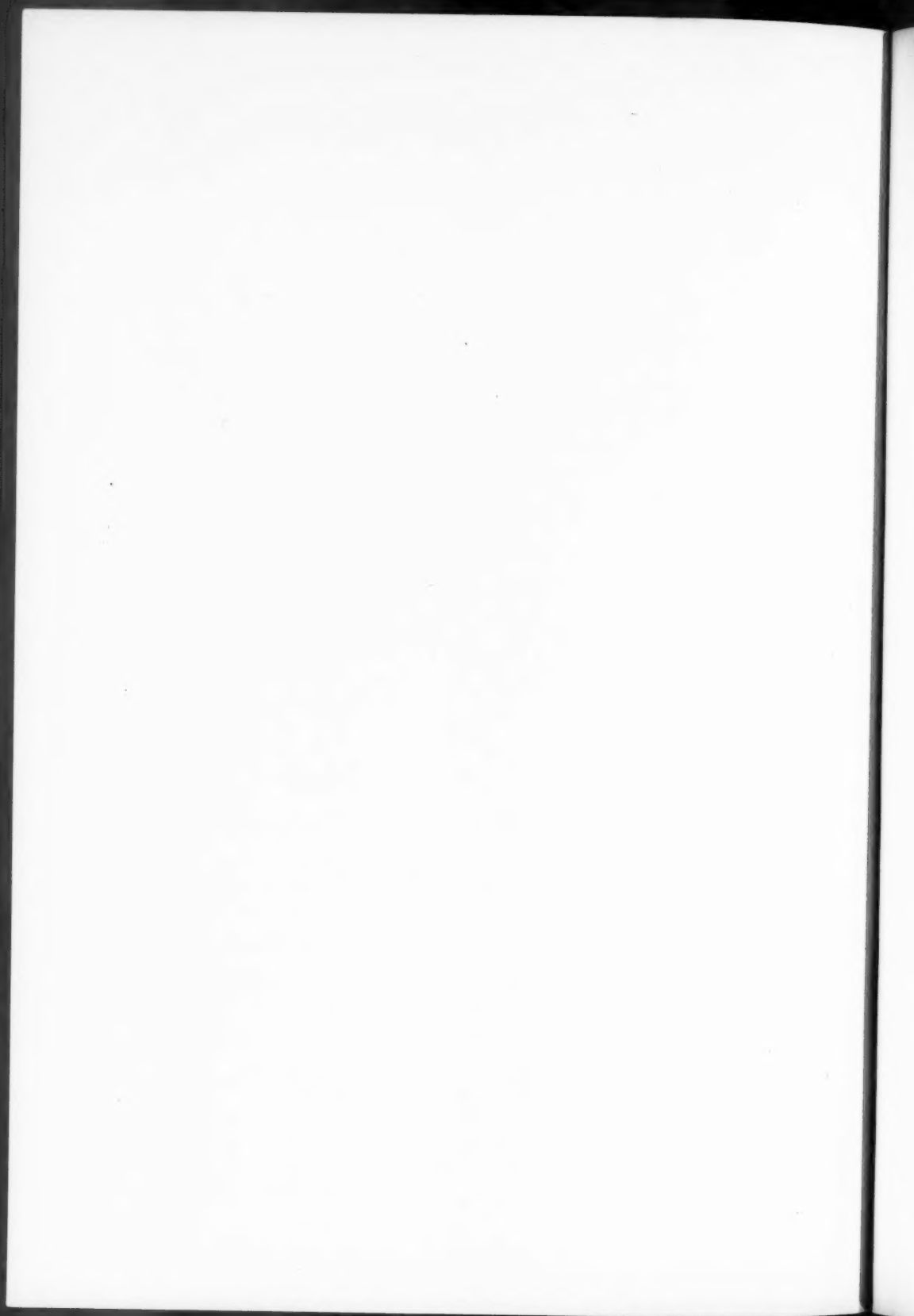
TABLE II

Frequency of Terms Used Synonymously with the
Psychopath and the Psychopathic

1. Abnormal character	1-0	7. Anti-social character	2-0
2. Affective insanity	2-0	8. Anti-social defect	1-0
3. Anethopath	1-0	9. Autopathy	1-0
4. Anethopathy	1-0	10. Born criminal	10-0
5. Anomaly of character	1-0	11. Born delinquent	4-0
6. Anti-social behavior	2-0	12. Congenital criminality	2-0

13. Congenital delinquent	4-0	57. Degenerate	3-0
14. Congenital moral insanity	2-0	58. Degeneration	7-0
15. Congenital psychoneurosis	2-0	59. Degenerative insanity of the moral type	1-0
16. Constitutional affective defective	1-0	60. Degenerative organization	1-0
17. Constitutional case	1-0	61. Delinquency	4-0
18. Constitutional defective	1-1	62. Delinquent	2-0
19. Constitutional deficiency	1-0	63. Demifou	1-0
20. Constitutional immorality	6-1	64. Depravity	2-0
21. Constitutional inferior	7-1	65. Derangement in the will	1-0
22. Constitutional inferiority	15-2	66. Discordant personality	2-0
23. Constitutional inferiority state	1-0	67. Egopathy	1-0
24. Constitutionally immoral	1-0	68. Emotional deficiency	1-0
25. Constitutionally inferior	2-0	69. Emotional insanity	1-1
26. Constitutionally psychopathic	1-0	70. Emotionally inferior	2-0
27. Constitutionally psychopathic personality	1-0	71. Emotionally unstable	4-0
28. Constitutional psychic inferior	1-0	72. Emotional maladjustment	1-0
29. Constitutional psychic inferiority	1-0	73. Emotional morbid impulses	1-0
30. Constitutional psychopath	12-5	74. Epilepsy	1-0
31. Constitutional psychopathic	2-1	75. Epileptic	1-0
32. Constitutional psychopathic condition	1-0	76. Ethic degeneration	1-0
33. Constitutional psychopathic inferior	11-2	77. Facade personality	1-0
34. Constitutional psychopathic inferiority	21-6	78. Fraudulent personality	1-1
35. Constitutional psychopathic inferiority without psychosis	1-0	79. General moral mania	1-0
36. Constitutional psychopathic inferior personality	1-0	80. Hereditary degenerate	1-0
37. Constitutional psychopathic inferior personality without psychosis	1-0	81. Histrionic personality	1-0
38. Constitutional psychopathic inferior personality with psychosis	1-0	82. Hormepath	1-0
39. Constitutional psychopathic personality	4-1	83. Hypophrenia	1-0
40. Constitutional psychopathic state	10-2	84. Idiopathic psychopath	1-0
41. Constitutional psycho- pathological	1-0	85. Idiopathic psychopathy	1-0
42. Constitutional psychopathy	14-3	86. Impulsive homicidal mania	1-0
43. C. P. I.	3-0	87. Impulsive insanity	2-1
44. C. P. I. state	1-0	88. Inadequate personality	1-0
45. Crank	1-0	89. Individual delinquent	1-0
46. Crime	1-0	90. Infantoid	1-0
47. Criminal	4-0	91. Insane criminal	1-0
48. Criminality	2-0	92. Insanity in the will	1-0
49. Criminaloid	1-0	93. Insanity of degeneracy	1-0
50. Criminal psychopath	1-0	94. Insincere personality	2-1
51. Criminal psychopathy	1-0	95. Instinct character	1-1
52. Criminal type	3-0	96. Instinctive criminal	3-0
53. Defective abnormal personality	2-0	97. Instinctive deficiency	1-0
54. Defective delinquency	1-0	98. Instinctive madness	0-1
55. Defective delinquent	7-2	99. Instinct ridden character	1-0
56. Degeneracy	1-0	100. Law breaker	1-0
		101. Mania without delusions	7-0
		102. Minor pathergasia	1-0
		103. Moral alienation	3-0
		104. Moral criminal	1-0
		105. Moral defect	3-1
		106. Moral defective	2-2
		107. Moral deficiency	4-0
		108. Moral deficient	1-0
		109. Moral depravity	1-0
		110. Moral derangement	2-0

111. Moral disorganization	1-0	159. Psychopathic constitutional state	1-0
112. Moral fool	1-0	160. Psychopathic construction	2-0
113. Moral idiocy	4-0	161. Psychopathic criminal	1-0
114. Moral idiot	1-0	162. Psychopathic defect	1-0
115. Moral imbecile	10-9	163. Psychopathic defective	1-0
116. Moral imbecility	15-6	164. Psychopathic degeneracy	1-0
117. Moral insane	5-0	165. Psychopathic delinquency	1-0
118. Moral insanity	24-8	166. Psychopathic delinquent	2-0
119. Moral lunatic	1-0	167. Psychopathic disposition	1-0
120. Morally defective	1-0	168. Psychopathic inferior	4-1
121. Morally deficient	1-0	169. Psychopathic inferiority	8-0
122. Morally imbecile	1-0	170. Psychopathic make-up	2-1
123. Morally inadequate	1-0	171. Psychopathic personality	72-12
124. Morally insane	3-0	172. Psychopathic personality	
125. Moral mania	1-0	without psychosis	2-0
126. Moral moron	1-0	173. Psychopathic personality	
127. Moral obliquity	1-0	with psychosis	1-0
128. Moral paranoia	1-0	174. Psychopathic predisposition	1-0
129. Moral parietic	1-0	175. Psychopathic reaction	3-0
130. Moral perversion	1-0	176. Psychopathic state	14-0
131. Moral perversy	2-0	177. Psychopathological	1-0
132. Moral vagabond	1-0	178. Psychopathological personality	1-0
133. Morbid personality	2-0	179. Psychopath without psychosis	1-0
134. Neurosis	2-0	180. Psychopathy	26-0
135. Neurotic	1-0	181. Psychosatiopath	5-0
136. Neurotic character	3-1	182. Psychosis with constitutional	
137. Neurotic constitution	2-0	inferiority	2-0
138. Non-schizophrenic psychopathic		183. Psychosis with constitutional	
personality	2-0	psychopathic inferiority	3-0
139. Original anomaly	1-0	184. Psychosis with psychopathic	
140. Orthopathic personality	1-0	personality	3-0
141. Partial diffuse delirium	1-0	185. Responsible depravity	1-0
142. Pathological personality	4-0	186. Secondary moral imbecility	2-1
143. Perverse character	1-0	187. Semantic dementia	1-0
144. Phallic character	1-0	188. Sociopath	4-0
145. Predatory personality	1-0	189. Sociopathic	1-0
146. Psychic constitutional inferior	0-1	190. Sociopathy	1-0
147. Psychic constitutional inferiority	6-0	191. Sycophantic personality	1-0
148. Psychic degeneracy	1-0	192. Symptomatic psychopath	1-0
149. Psychic inferior	1-0	193. Symptomatic psychopathy	1-0
150. Psychic inferiority	2-0	194. Temperamental defect	1-0
151. Psychoid	1-0	195. Temperamental defective	0-1
152. Psychological ataxia	1-0	196. Temperamental deficiency	2-0
153. Psychopath	41-0	197. Temperamentally defective	1-0
154. Psychopathic	37-1	198. Transilient personality	1-0
155. Psychopathic behavior	1-0	199. Tropopath	1-0
156. Psychopathic character	1-0	200. Unstable	2-0
157. Psychopathic constitution	6-0	201. Volitional inferior	1-0
158. Psychopathic constitutional		202. Volitional inferiority	1-0
inferior	1-0		



Abstracts From Current Literature

A - Psychoanalysis

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL. GEZA ROHEIM.
The Psychoanalytic Quarterly. 9:526-545, Oct., 1940.

A dichotomy of viewpoint and opposing theses, based upon antithetical psycho-sociological premises, produces the presentation of Kardiner's statements and Roheim's refutation. "The Individual and His Society," a book by A. Kardiner, is the issue between the opposite views.

Environmental variations within the social group have a definite effect upon the development of individuals. The impingement of cultural forces upon the individual's instinctual drives results in the formation of definite behavior patterns. The equation is "reversible" in that the individual also produces an effect upon the social structure. A clue to the effect of social institutions and cultural variations upon the individual may be found in the folk legends of the group. Kardiner produces a "basic personality structure" developed by the fundamental or primary forces in the social milieu. The subordinate or secondary cultural institutions are a product of the "basic personality structure." This thesis, Roheim claims, is but a modification of the "ontogenetic theory of culture" as developed by Roheim himself in a previous paper, "The Riddle of the Sphinx." Kardiner's deviation is Marxist in its essence since he adopts Fromm's view of the relationship, as to primacy, of the group to individual. For example, in the family, the father is not the "protista" of the state authority, but is an image of said dominance. His social dominance, not erotic love, is the essence of his leadership. The Freudian antithesis claims that the power of the father arises basically from the emotions and the integration of "aggression, compensations, and libidinal shifts from mother to father."

Roheim claims that the schism between Kardiner and himself results from the dichotomy existing between the Freudian (Roheim) and the Marxist (Kardiner) viewpoints. From the Freudian psychoanalytic thesis, the individual psychology must be based upon contradictions between the "id" and "ego," and the "ego" and "superego." The Marxist view is based upon the "dialectic" between the societal configuration and the individual. Examples of this divergence in premise are described fully. An important illustration is in the interpretation of the nexus between infant anal training and the hoarding tendency among primitive groups. Roheim states that he can agree with many of Kardiner's interpretations but that Kardiner does not realize and resolve his thematic potential to its consummate development.

Of the "oedipus complex," Kardiner holds that this relationship is derived and developed from the existing social environment. The example of change in economy from a "dry rice" to a "wet rice" configuration is given to illustrate his point. Another point taken is the development of a more aggressive, or more powerful oedipal relationships, in those societies, where the struggle for honor, authority and economic wealth is one of strong competition. The contrary view as defined by Roheim expresses or rather relates the oedipus constellation to the biological base, which then develops the psychological superstructure. The illustration used to conclude this observation are the strong oedipus complexes evidenced by those animal species where the long period of infancy results in a marked difference between the infant life and adult life. The "Primal Horde," therefore, was an early form of social structure arising from the oedipus complex. On the other hand Kardiner's view is based upon the basic contradiction existing between man and his social en-

vironment, whereas Roheim feels that the environment and the heredity interact but the origin of social structure is psychological and ultimately biological, a completely monistic view.

On still another question, that of myth and folklore origin, Roheim in this article disagrees with the material in Kardiner's book. Kardiner, according to Roheim, believes that these legends arise from the antagonistic forces impinging upon the individual from the existing social structure. Roheim agrees that this thesis is well taken but that there is a lack of analysis regarding the myths and legends in their entirety. The enlargement upon Kardiner culled from the myths relating to procreation among primitive tribes form the basis that would negate the Kardiner theme. The counter-view is expressed by Roheim as follows: "The persistence of the elementary experiences of life, from our prolonged infancy" fashions the Gods called 'society' and 'culture'."

The two viewpoints are then summed up with a few concise statements. Kardiner: Society is a dialectic arrangement between socio-cultural groups and the individual; the conditions of the group, conditions the individual who in turn modifies the already existing institutions. Roheim (as per this article): The conditioning of man arises from the biological structure (prolonged infancy, libidinal structures, etc.) and man is a product of this basic force; the modifications of existing institutions by man is due to the incomplete nature of his social integration.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE ECONOMY OF AFFECTIVE BONDS, G. DEVEREUX, *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 29:303-314, July, 1942.

Freud's thesis: the breakdown of the objective libidinal position results in the emotion being then integrated in the sub-

jective self. When a substitute "love object" is found, the self is able to reorient toward a new objective position.

Devereux agrees with the idea of libidinal incorporation within the individual, when the objective situation is destroyed. The reorientation period, when the libido resolves itself in the ego completely, is characterized by psychological disturbances. Stability occurs, subsequently, only when the new objective compensating libidinal position approximates the original, in its intensity. The degree and violence of these transition period disturbances varies with the group, the individual, and the social structure position or status.

Among the Mohave Indian groups, for example, the age of the male individual is an important factor in the problem of a shifting libidinal position. Loss of a young wife, by an aged male, creates a difficult problem for the man, since the substitute is difficult to obtain, or is found to be of inferior quality. Depression, suicidal and belligerent trends are expressed. The young man and the female, in general, do not face this difficulty.

The acuteness of the psychological disturbance depends upon the availability of equivalent substitutes, and the fear that the new "love object" will be inferior. Another factor increasing the sharpness of disturbance is the connection between the libidinal position, the recipient object, and what is called by Schilder, an "ideology." Many times the anxieties caused by the situation, involving these shifts, are rationalized by attributing their misfortune to an uncontrollable destiny. The feeling that the existing pressures are familiar and are repetitions of similar occurrences in the past, may be due to the recall of libidinal shifts and "love object" changes during the development from the infant to the adult. In the child, these movements occur frequently and are always accompanied by a change in the social position. The relative violence of the libidinal changes, in the infant, depends in some measure upon the number of "love objects" in his cultural and physical environment. The "Gemeinschaft" type of society, and the "extended family" groups, are character-

ized by less frequent occurrences of pathologies connected with the changing libidinal position, than the "Gesellschaft" societal type and the "conjugal family groups." In all the societal types, however, there is a fear that one's social position and the accompanying subjective status will be impaired by the new, and possibly inferior, libidinal subject.

In Western societies, these libidinal changes generally result in traumatic aberrations. In the primitive groups, the social forces, although producing no traumatic effects, do cause definite pressures upon the individual. The factors, in these primitive cultures, which allow for transfers in objects of affection and "love," without the extreme psychological disturbances, are several in number. The societal structure of primitive groups is fairly stable, and there is relatively little differentiation in class strata, disregarding the sex factor. In "gemeinschaft" groups, the individual's station is directly affected by the changing fortunes of the group as a whole. Therefore, it is of importance to the citizen to strengthen his group allegiances. Since the importance placed upon the individual is great, contrary to popular opinion, because the wealth, power, and importance of the group depends upon the number of productive individuals within the tribe or family, the stress upon changes in the libidinal position is toward obtaining a substitute love object which will perform a function equal to that of the lost love object. To prove the existence of strain, even in the early social group, upon the individual during libidinal shifts, several illustrative situations are presented. The traditional bride's tears, the short temper of the man with children, whose wife has died, doing the woman's work, the loss of a young bride by an old man whose opportunities are restricted, and several others are given at length, as examples of strain.

The stress derives less from loss of a sexual object than from the loss of a functionally productive asset. The assets are factors of a social and economic type, mainly, and they form the fundamental basis for the psychological disturbances. Psychologically, antagonism is evidenced toward the incorporation of too great an amount of libidinal affection in a limited

small number of people. Those who have lost the "love object" face a resultant reduction in status, socially and economically. This is due to the reduction in strength in the proximate group and therefore in the individual himself. The above refers to the "Gemeinschaft" type of group.

Comparison between the "Gesellschaft" and "Gemeinschaft" forms can be made from the standpoint of traumatic origin. In the former, it is due (trauma) to the repetition of the "socialization process;" in the latter, to "regression" to an "unsocialized state."

The time interval between loss of libido (objective) and the discovery of the substitute is important. If the interval is too great, incorporation of the libido strongly within itself results. Schizophrenia often appears during this transition interlude, and disorganization of the libido also occurs. This libidinal disorganization seems to correlate with the degree of social underintegration. Since the libido is integrated in the self or "ego," then "ego structure and libido structure can be used as equivalent terms."

To the above factors can be added the ageing factor. Where the libidinal position is constantly in flux, due to the death of many contemporaries and the lack of any substitute objects, an affect akin to "social underintegration is the result."

The connection between the libido and social structure; the interchangeable effects of social and economic psychological factors, all help denote the social development and incorporation of the individual in the group.

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THE MASSIVE STRUCTURE OF DELINQUENCY.
ARTHUR N. FOXE. *Psychiatric Quarterly*. 16:681-692. October, 1942.

The writer sums up his views on the problems of crime and delinquency after a decade of active interest in these areas.

During that time, he has contributed two monographs, about a dozen papers, a score of book reviews and a number of court opinions and all of these contributions form one consistent view.

The decade which he sums up sweeps from the profound world depression of 1932 to the general maniacal excitement of today. In the first six years he examined some three thousand men at Great Meadow Prison and did extensive analysis on a selected group of about thirty-five. He supplemented this with private practice and therefore feels that he had a rather rounded experience.

The article, in discussing the nature of crime, mentions that the abridged edition of the Penal Law of New York State, which describes the various crimes and their punishments, has 224 articles and 2,502 sections. Dr. Foxe thus emphasizes what he calls the main theme in connection with crime,—“its massive structure.” He builds up this theme by rather interesting anecdotes drawn from his experiences.

After his description of the macroscopic picture of crime, he examines microscopically “that compact bit of universal structure that we call the man.” From years of experience in examining criminals in a microscopic and analytic way, Dr. Foxe draws the very prosaic conclusion that he found them to be “just human beings.”

He lists the three chief etiological factors in the “criminoses.” First, he mentions a severe trauma to life or to the vita (the vital drive) sustained in infancy or early childhood. This is self explanatory.

The second etiological factor is that of a real want or need that cannot be satisfied in the home but is otherwise satisfiable. This is not necessarily an economic want or need. In fact, Dr. Foxe means by a real need—a lack of real human personal warmth, understanding, feeling, balanced firmness, limited emotional sweeps, etc. He states that the economic system is not the cause of crime, but it is the reason why poor people generally are the ones found in prisons.

The third factor that the writer asserts is of great significance is the hidden participation of other members of the family and later, of other members of the community in the criminotic behavior. This participation may be overt or merely consist of tacit approval in any number of possible ways.

Dr. Foxe cynically concludes that society, oddly enough, at one time or another in every cultural development, considers, actually and factually, that everyone is a criminal. In the beginnings of a society, people who will not work are saboteurs and criminal. People who will not fight to defend that society are criminal. People who revolt are criminal. When societies crumble, those who were previously in power as law-givers suddenly become criminals and are imprisoned. In the history of any one culture, it is hardly possible to find anyone who at some time or other is not considered to be a criminal. Thus the author presents the picture of the massive structure of delinquency and draws philosophical inferences from his experiences.

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B - Neuropsychiatry

FEMALE DELINQUENCY. JOSE BELBY. *Archivos de Medicina Legal, Argentina*. 12:3-20, January-April, 1942.

In the introductory paragraphs, the author points out that woman has always been poorly understood by man and

even by herself. She was looked upon as an angel by the romantics and a devil by the Catholic Church. She has always been surrounded by an air of mystery. Some physiologists and sociologists, in haste to draw general conclusions from particular cases, like Lombroso, Maranon and others, put women in an inferior human class.

Others regarded her in the same way as a child or adolescent. However, the development from the primitive egg, before sexual differentiation, does not enable us to distinguish whether the future individual will be male or female and thus there is no evidence of women's inferiority at this stage.

The human female develops more rapidly than the male up to the age of puberty, is superior physically, and psychologically more mature up to that time, but the male overtakes her after that and is then the superior, at least physically. However, in insect societies, the female plays a higher and more important role than the male and is physically better developed.

Belby says that woman's peculiar qualities and defects make her different. Her delinquencies, therefore, are of a different character. When women become delinquent, according to Ferri, whom the author quotes, they do so either through being born with delinquent tendencies, through self-love, through hate, fear, deceit, etc. Generally, they are led into crime by male delinquents. They may form part of gangs or bands such as in international espionage as pointed out in the book on that subject by Robert Boncard.

According to type of crime, women are most often casual or occasional offenders. They commit crimes which are usually of a specific nature such as abortion or infanticide, abandonment of children, crimes to protect their honor or virginity. Only occasionally do women become recidivists or habitual criminals.

Feminine delinquency is minor in extent and incidence when compared to masculine crime. Dr. Belby refutes those criminologists who state that the female is more criminal than the male or that the delinquencies of the sexes do not differ in quantity but only in quality. He agrees with Israel Castellanos who, in his book, "Feminine Delinquency in Cuba," discusses these points, and with other authors who state that feminine crimes are much less in number than masculine. The Spanish criminologist, C. Bernaldo de Quiros, in his work on crime in Italy, asserts that

feminine delinquency is one-fourth or one-fifth that of masculine. For Proal ("The Crime and the Punishment"), "the criminality of women is seven times less than that of men." Quetelet puts this proportion at five times. Fointsky, who made his studies before the present regimes in Russia, Germany and Italy, estimated the following proportions of feminine to masculine delinquency in each of these countries: one to ten, one to sixteen, one to six. Rumania also shows a high preponderance of masculine over feminine crime.

Dr. Belby reports the same phenomenon for Argentina. He bases his conclusions on data taken from the "Bulletin of Statistics and Jurisprudence of the City of Buenos Aires." According to the Fourth General Census of 1936, the population of the Federal Capitol of Argentina was 2,415,142 of which 1,211,624 were women and 1,203,518 were men or about 8,106 more females than males. Using the year 1938 as a typical example, the crime figures for Buenos Aires are as follows:

Crimes against the person: Total, 5,572. 1,106 committed by women, 4,466 committed by men.

Crimes against property: Total, 2,072. 214 committed by women, 1,858 committed by men.

Crimes against honesty, liberty and the State: Total 609. 419 committed by men and 190 by women.

Suicides and attempted suicides: Of a total of 804, 342 were committed by women and 462 by men.

In considering the reason for the suicides, it is found that women who commit suicide do so because of thwarted love, family difficulties and reasons of that general nature. Men, on the other hand, do so most frequently because of financial reverses, mental abnormality or business troubles. Both sexes attempt suicide for reasons of physical illnesses.

The author quotes the statistics for 1934 and the first three-quarters of 1941 to show that the same proportions and sex differences in the crime rate exist for those years and he summarizes by stating that men show four or five times more

crimes against the person than women and about ten times as many crimes against property. According to Belby, these statistics refute the view that as woman leaves the home, enters business and factories, smokes and drinks alcohol, that her crime rate increases. The proportion of five males crimes to one female crime found in 1871 by Quetelet still holds, and yet the social position of women has changed fundamentally in that time.

Whether woman is and always will be intrinsically and organically less delinquent than man is discussed. Lombroso, Lombroso and Furero, Bernaldo de Quiros, Dugdale and other authors consider prostitution in women as an equivalent of crime. If this is so, does that alter the conclusion that women are less criminal than men by nature? The statement of Bernaldo de Quiros is interesting in this connection. He says, "Psychologically, there are differences between the prostitute and the delinquent. Socially, they are considered the same. Juridically, prostitution can be and has been treated as a crime." But it is a curious crime in that the prostitute is the one punished as a criminal whereas, the male who participates is not. Yet he is just as guilty as she. In "Donna Delinquente" by Lombroso and Ferrero, the statement is made, "Woman is always useful to us even by her vices." The question is asked whether prostitution is a vice or a crime. "Why a vice if it is only a business? Why a crime if it is useful to humanity?" asks Dr. Belbey.

It is interesting to consider the relative proportions between the sexes of psychopathological delinquencies. Nerio Rojas and Fernandez Speroni deduce from their study of pathological delinquents that "the female mental psychopath is less criminal than the male." To Dr. Belbey, woman was, is and always will be, sane or insane, less criminal than man. She is better than man, is more socialized and more moral than man. Andrée Courthial in her study on "Emotional Differences of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Girls of Normal Intelligence," studied two groups of girls 14 to 17 years old. They were equated for socio-economic status, occupational level of father, chronological age and intelligence.

She noted that the delinquent girls were interested in a greater number of things, were more restless and irritable. They had a more dominant personality, greater initiative and were more resistant to suggestion. Finally, they spent the major portion of their time in attending amusements, dances, movies, parties, etc. Belbey concludes from this that when woman becomes delinquent, she has become more "masculine." She is less herself, less a woman, more antisocial or asocial.

This apparent difference between delinquent and non-delinquent women is illustrated by Belbey in a number of well chosen examples from history, art, literature and famous crimes. The literary examples cited and described are Medea, Clytemnestra, Electra and Federa. They are considered "masculine" types of women. The historical cases are those of Cleopatra, Agrippina, Lucretia Borgia, and others.

Thus, Dr. Belbey reaches the general conclusion that, in all times, sane or crazy, under whatever culture or society, woman was and is very rarely delinquent. When she is, it is due to the development of masculine traits. The article ends with a plea for great participation by women in the building of a new post war world and in public affairs generally, so that the inherent goodness of woman can be an important influence for good in our man made world.

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SOME CRITICAL COMMENTS ON THEORY OF PERSONALITY. E. B. SKAGGS, *Psychological Review*. 49:600-606. Nov., 1942.

The two problems considered by the author, are that of the nature and development of adequate *functional units* of personality and that of the nature and development of that total organization or integration which we summarily designate as personality. The first is a problem of

adequate analysis while the second is one of adequate synthesis and is often designated as the *problem of unity*.

In considering the units of personality, the temptation is to select units in terms of segments of behavior. Personality would then be defined as the sum-total of behavior patterns. We would be dealing with observable and measureable phenomena. On the other hand, if we define personality in terms of the *inner man*, we are dealing with "unobservables" which cannot be measured.

However, if we desire an explanatory instead of a mere descriptive psychology, a causative instead of a mere correlational psychology, the author believes that we must define personality in terms of inner systems or dispositions. Personality, *in toto*, or any of its functional units, then lies behind muscular and glandular behavior and is an inferred phenomenon which cannot be measured.

Gordon W. Allport, who defines personality in terms of inferred inner psychoneural organizations, has chosen "trait" as his functional unit. He defined "trait" as "a generalized and focalized neuropsychic system" within the individual. Dr. Skaggs raises the question as to whether or not it is wise to make the trait, as defined by Allport, the functional unit of personality to the exclusion of other inner dispositions or "determining tendencies." He, however, more or less agrees with Allport's definition of personality.

The author lists many inner psychoneural systems, dispositions or determining tendencies such as, sensation, perception, Aufgabe, attitude, idea, mental set, trait, belief, goal, habit, etc. and concludes that we must think of two dimensions. First there is the *temporal or durability dimension*. Some inner dispositions are relatively temporary while others are more durable. Second, one thinks of the *specificity-generalizability dimension*. Both may be thought of as linear scales ranging from zero to the *n*th degree. Allport's "trait" stands far to the right on each of the two scales. There may be other dimensions such as the emotional or the intellectual (G-factor) dimension. Allport has not

taken these factors into account, and therefore the author feels that his theory has defects. He prefers to speak of a variety of determining factors or motivational factors such as, perceptions, ideas, purposes, habits, attitudes and traits.

Having made this criticism of Allport, the writer examines the way he treats the problem of unity or total integration of the personality. Allport stated that all accounts of integrative growth in physiological terms are at the present time, highly speculative and that it is safer to take a frankly psychological approach to the problem of integration. The author levels the following criticisms of Allport's views. First it is not clear as to just what a "purely psychological approach" is to be. How can it be differentiated from the "purely physiological"? Skaggs prefers to say that the psychological is merely an emphasis on certain aspects of the physiological, namely, the conscious and behavioral aspects.

Second, the writer believes that the basic key to an understanding of the matter of integration of the smaller units, habits, attitudes, traits or what you will, as well as the larger, total integration, must eventually be conceived in terms of the structure and function of the nervous system.

Third, if a strictly "psychological approach" is adopted, we must remain on a descriptive level whereas, the author, like Allport, wants an explanatory and motivational system of personality.

Allport has suggested "consistency" as the outstanding criterion of unity or integration of personality. Dr. Skaggs agrees with this if the concept can be sufficiently clarified. He desires to think of unity in terms of a linear continuum, enabling him to speak of greater or less degrees of unity. Obviously, any attempt to work out linear continua for well-agreed-upon dimensions of personality would have positive practical and clinical, as well as theoretical, advantages.

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THE CRIMINAL PERSONALITY. WALTER COUTU, PH.D. *Federal Probation*. 6:25-30, Oct.-Dec., 1942.

The criminal personality as referred to by Doctor Coutu refers to one whose characteristic pattern of behavior is composed of criminal acts such as the professional, the habitual, the systematic criminal. For our purpose, therefore, we must maintain the thesis that all behavior, criminal or otherwise, is normal for the conditions under which it occurs. Men commit crimes because they feel the need to do it.

Some of the important needs in the life of the individual, and which arise out of group life in our culture, are the need to feel secure both economically and emotionally, the need for personal recognition by our fellows, the need for dependable, affectional responses from those of our groups for whom we care and from those whose opinions we value, and the need for new experiences now and then such as adventure, excitement, or just plain fun.

Dealing with these needs one by one, we find that in order to satisfy the need for security, work must be obtained, and unless this work is available a person feels unjustly treated. However, in other cases individuals react by doing what is expected of them by those whose opinions are valued. If they look upon work as a hardship and fighting and stealing as personal attributes, it can therefore be expected that their behavior will follow the latter design, and the more clever and daring one is at stealing and fighting the more he will have those things and relationships which the group has led him to believe are desirable.

Secondly, the individual must have recognition. How we satisfy this need for recognition is primarily in the manner in which we have been brought up. If recognition is received through honesty, fair play, truthfulness, those methods of securing recognition will continue. If, on the other hand, the individual has been taught that he must learn to fight hard and skillfully, to swear, to steal, and to "put something over," it is only reasonable

to expect a continuance of such behavior in order to satisfy the need for recognition in the only way a person knows how and in the way which is normal for him and his people, for his situation.

This same analogy holds true regarding affection. While the normal individual responds to the more tender human emotions such as affection of parents, love and children, the criminal personality builds up a noticeable trait of hardness, braggadocio and defiance. To admit the need for friendship, tenderness, affection and kindness would result in ridicule and loss of status in the criminal group.

While the normal individual satisfies the great human need for new experiences by fishing, playing golf, theatres, etc., the criminal personality gets his new experience and excitement by raiding freight cars, being chased by policemen, stealing from department stores, "pulling a stick-up," and "cracking a safe." Through this means life is exciting, full of new experiences, and is a normal reaction for this type of personality. Many times, criminal behavior is erroneously reported as abnormal, while as a matter of fact it is extremely normal for the person engaging in it and for those individuals by whom he is surrounded.

A person's behavior is determined by the group by which he is most closely identified. The groups with which we identify ourselves form the boundaries of our lives. Thus it is that different people react differently in different communities. Residents of certain states react in a manner entirely apart from residents of other states. Rich and poor do not react the same to given instances, and it therefore follows that living is behaving, by which individuals respond to stimuli according to the meanings that they have learned. These meanings are learned from relatively small groups. Thus it is that the criminal personality is a pretty set pattern.

Each social group sets up a fairly well recognized standard of behavior for the individuals in their group, but these standards may vary tremendously between groups. Behavior which may be proper for a negro may not be proper for a white man; likewise, the behavior of a socialite

may not be socially approved by an individual in the middle class group. The normal way in the slum is not the normal way on Park Avenue. Our group determines what is normal and determines and controls our behavior.

When the standards of two or more groups conflict with each other, it is referred to as a conflict of culture patterns. In these conflicting group standards, if there is a difference in the size of the group the larger group usually enforces its standards upon the smaller, and agencies of social control are established. A man of a smaller group may behave in the manner in keeping with his group but not in keeping with the larger group, thus causing social control to be exercised over him. Thus the criminal personality becomes differentiated from the normal group.

Much of our personality is learned when we are children. If a child grows up in a small group where stealing, cheating and fighting are normal, everyday behavior, it must be expected the child will consider these things normal. Inasmuch as these children have the same basic needs which adults have, they insist upon recognition in order that they may feel their lives are significant. If the child wants status, recognition and prestige, he must secure this from his own group, and if these values are secured by stealing and truancy he will steal and play truant. In a similar manner, his sense of security is satisfied in the manner which is prescribed and his desire for new experience will be fulfilled in a manner prescribed by his associates.

The importance of meanings must be given careful consideration. Every group develops its own characteristic ideals and ideology. The normal group which gave us our meanings are democracy, home, family, church, etc. Although the criminal group hear about these ideas, their meanings are different. Church and school are places for sissies. Home and family are places of frustration. Honesty is a form of weakness, and law and order is the rule of the police.

It sometimes happens that a member of the smaller group would like to belong to the larger, that is he would like to be

normal in the eyes of the larger society. He quite often finds such an attempt is blocked by both groups. He is rejected by the normal and ridiculed by his own. This blocking leads to frustration, and in turn leads to aggressiveness and embitters his whole outlook on life. Often he is graduated from the school of delinquency into the school of crime and has become a criminal personality.

It is an accepted fact that all behavior is the result of stimuli, and that if an understanding of man's behavior is desired an investigation should be conducted of the stimuli which produces it. Each individual interprets actions differently. It is quite often believed that two responses from two different individuals culminate from the same act. However, this is not true since each responds to the meaning which he has put on this act. Thus it is that in everyday life, in which there are thousands of stimuli of different kinds, and stimuli is defined in terms of meaning, our behavior results from individual interpretation of the meaning attached to the stimuli.

There are two types of behavior—learned and unlearned. Unlearned behavior is not given a response until first a meaning is given it. Meanings are learned, but few of them are learned from books. The policeman, for example, is vitally interested in what men do—not why they do it. The sociologist is interested in the stimulus, that is, why they react as they do. In fact, each act of a man is a part of a behavior pattern, his own particular pattern. This characteristic pattern of behavior is called personality.

What men do depends upon the stimuli they receive, and the stimuli they receive is to a large extent determined by the group with which they are identified. We are born into this world as a bundle of potentialities, and whether or not these potentialities are realized depends on our experiences with the people with whom we live. It has been attempted for ages to describe the differences in men by classifying them into types. All resulted in failure because it cannot be demonstrated that man's behavior patterns, criminal or otherwise, are determined by any particular type of phenomena, biological,

psychological, or sociological. The personality is the product of the group and the group produces bad as well as good personalities.

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HOMICIDE COMMITTED BY A PATIENT WITH
SYSTEMATIZED DELIRIUM. FLORO LAVALLE.
Archivos de Medicina Legal, Argentina.
12:90-96. Jan.-April, 1942.

The author was prompted to publish this case history of a homicide committed by a subject with symptoms of systematized delirium and delusions because of the usefulness of discussing the diagnostic difficulties. The case is presented just as it was reported upon to the Judge in Court by Dr. Lavalle. There were actually nine confusing previous medical opinions in the Civil and Criminal Courts, and later it was decided that the patient was a demented psychopath within the meaning of the Civil Code.

The form in which the homicide was executed, by its violence and ferocity, in a subject with a previous alcoholic history, contributed to the error in diagnosis. It is extremely difficult in this type of illness to make a precise diagnosis and to include it in a correct classification. The patient's wife was the subject of the delirium, constituting its prevalent idea, thus forming the body of the delirious disturbance based on false interpretations and hallucinations. There slowly emerged in the author's examination of the patient, a picture of a systematized delirium difficult to interpret because the main symptoms were hidden by an overt coherence with great lucidity and a superficial conservation of memory and ordering of the feeling and will, without an obvious dementia and with excellent physical condition.

Dr. Lavalle saw the patient at the Mercedes Hospital in repeated sessions, with the object of reporting to the Court on the actual state of his mental faculties. The patient, N. N., was Spanish and 56 years old. He was married in 1919. Two years later he noted "frigidity in his marital

intimacies." Then began the first symptoms which multiplied until eight years before the commission of the crime, the date on which it was established with definite character that there was a picture of *delirium in activity*, rich in delusions and hallucinations. These are enumerated in detail by Dr. Lavalle and bear out his interpretation. The symptoms increased in intensity until they culminated in the homicidal act.

The hereditary antecedents of the patient are highly significant since he had two insane brothers. His temperament is also of major importance since it shows distinct characteristics of a marked egoism and together with his other symptoms, he shows a well defined paranoid personality. Superimposed on this is the inveterate use of alcohol admitted by the patient which aggravates and complicates the psychopathological picture.

A study of the evolution of the illness and prolonged observation, permitted the author to construct a clinical history and to reach a definite diagnosis of psychosis, taking the clinical form of systematized delusions and to reject the previous diagnosis of alcoholic delirium, or alcoholic psychosis. Dr. Lavalle emphasizes that the alcoholic intoxication does not suffice to explain the entire insane episode but was superimposed on an innate psychopathic constitution. He holds that the alcohol could be considered one symptom and that without it we would have had an equal clinical picture with the identical episode. The immense majority of inveterate drinkers do not become insane.

Dr. Lavalle points out that in his experience, the cure of many psychopathic alcoholics, after a period of abstinence and segregation, especially when there is a well constituted nervous system, is what gives the high rate of cures in the Hospital and Sanitarium.

Such cases as the one analyzed, however, are generally incurable and remain chronic.

Psychiatrists working in criminal courts will find it profitable to refer to this carefully detailed case illustrating a differential diagnosis made in spite of a mass of complicating symptoms.

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C-Clinical Psychology

THE NATURE AND EXPLANATION OF BEHAVIOR. KENNETH F. WALKER. *Psychological Review*. 49:569-586, Nov., 1942.

This article attacks a fundamental problem in psychology since the behavior of the human organism, with which it concerns itself, is the very basic subject matter of psychology. The author gives us a theoretical discussion of the nature of behavior and its explanation. Such a discussion is necessary to clarify many controversies and disagreements in the field of psychology. While psychologists are agreed that the behavior of the human organism is the subject matter of psychology, they have varying conceptions of the nature of behavior and thus different "schools" of psychology and much sterile controversy have arisen.

The two most widely accepted conceptions of behavior are, on the one hand, that behavior consists of the movements of the bodily members in space, and, on the other hand, that behavior consists not of the bodily movements per se, but of the effects of the movements. Those who view behavior as bodily movements per se have been most definitely associated with the name of Watson although he himself did not adhere to this conception consistently. The name "dynamicists" is applied by Murray to those who view behavior as the effects of movements. Many a bitter conflict in psychology may be traced to the clash of these two conceptions of behavior. An example is the controversy over the concept of "instinct" between Watson and his followers and McDougall and the dynamicists.

In Walker's own conception of the nature of behavior, he states that it consists simply of changes in the relationships between the organism and a given system of variables; of a shift in the position of the organism in a given field or context. This system of variables is called the environment. The organism is related

to a number of environments or contexts, the one time, and there is no limit to the number of contexts that may be distinguished.

To study the behavior of the human organism is to put the question "What is the man doing?" To this question there is no single answer. At the one time he is doing as many things as there are contexts to which he is related. Any bodily movement produces a number of effects, none of which is logically prior to the others.

We may, if we desire, regard all behavior as the expression of a drive for self-preservation, but such a procedure, although formally valid, does not aid us in the explanation of any behavior other than that of preserving the individual.

Where psychologists have often erred, is in attempting to explain events in one such context by reducing them formally to events in another context. The error of the dynamicists lies in their tendency to build up, on purely *formal* grounds, hierarchies of drives, all the drives lower in the hierarchy being regarded as merely a particular expression of the drives higher up, which are held to be the real, basic drives of the human organism, to which, in the last analysis, all behavior may be attributed. Such a hierarchy is obtained simply by viewing the behaving organism in relation to a number of different contexts. Walker feels that there is no reason to call any of these drives more *basic* than any other.

For Watson, behavior consists of a stimulus and a response, but he defines these categories so widely as to render them useless for science. He includes in his category of stimulus anything from a flash of light, a prick, a loud bang or the chemical effect of a hormone in the blood-stream, to a conversation, a table or a newspaper, and in doing so, he moves freely from one universe of discourse to another without even realizing it. Watson mixes the environment described in terms

of its purely physical properties with the same environment described in other terms.

Many psychologists, notably the Gestalists and Tolman, have attacked the reduction of all behavior to muscle twitches. However, they have failed to rid themselves completely of an unreasoning reverence for the physiologist. Their failure is indicated by their belief that eventually psychological explanations must give way to physiological ones. This view is the last stronghold of the notion that by reducing molar behavior to its bodily movements, we can explain it. Such a concept will not give an explanation of such behavior as earning a living, realizing an ambition, and so on. No neurology, not even the work of Lashley, can ever give an account of these behaviors, for they consist of relations *between* bodily movements *per se* and other variables.

The organism is immersed at any given instant in a number of contexts or fields. One such context is the geographical environment in terms of its purely physical properties. Behavior, in this context, consists of bodily movements in space *per se*. While the organism is shifting its position in space, however, it is also shifting its position in a number of other contexts, each of which is simply the geographical environment described in terms of its significance for the organism in some particular respect, such as its food supplying facilities or its implications for self preservation. The events in a particular context cannot be explained by reducing them formally to events in another context.

Two basic problems remain. The first is to decide in which contexts the organism should be studied; the second is to decide what concepts shall be employed to formulate events in these contexts.

The answer to the first question will vary according to our purpose. A given bodily movement presents a variety of psychological problems and, according to his interests at the moment, the psychologist may choose to study any of a number of possible contexts in which the organism is set. There is no reason to call any of these contexts more basic or more

fundamental than any other; for some problems, one will be important, in other problems, another context may be the important one. The answer amounts to saying that there is no point in drawing up a list of "basic drives," for this problem is identical with that of deciding in which context the organism is to be studied.

The second problem, that of determining what concepts shall be employed to formulate events in various psychological contexts, can only be given a negative answer. The concepts of motivation, motive, desire, drive, need and wish are not considered satisfactory from the author's point of view. What is required are concepts which will picture the organism and its environment united in a single event, and which will formulate the shifts of the organism's position in whatever context it is studied in by the psychologist.

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BASIC CONCEPTS AND PROCEDURES IN A STUDY OF BEHAVIOR DEVELOPMENT. MYRTLE B. MCGRAW. *Psychological Review*, 47:79-90, January, 1940.

The author begins with a discussion of the role of concepts in scientific procedures pointing out that they are salient factors in the process of investigation and that they strongly influence the manner in which facts are obtained, the interpretation of the data and the organization of knowledge about the data. She recognizes that concepts and methods of procedures, as tools of inquiry alter with time, but that in the study of behavior development, they should be clearly understood and defined.

First, investigators in the field of behavior development should consider the nature or quality of the phenomenon being investigated. Any study in this field embraces an analysis of changes taking place within a living organism. The concept of *organism* is in dire need of refine-

ment since it has not yet been subjected to a rigorous definition. This, Dr. McGraw proceeds to do.

The term *organism* implies organization is the essence of living matter. Yet, granting this, we still do not know, for experimental purposes, just what constitutes the boundaries or the scope of any particular organism. Dr. McGraw suggests the adoption of an operational definition of the organism. That is to say, the phenomenon to be observed is "organization" and the limits, or the field of observation, are prescribed in accordance with each investigation. For some purposes, this field or scope of observation, may be a single cell, for others, an individual as bound by epidermis, or it may be a functional system as it operates within the epidermis and for still other purposes it may be the universe. Actually there are no sharp lines which clearly demarcate an individual or an organism except as they are experimentally or operationally determined. Socially speaking, an individual represents merely nodal points of activity within a society and for some purposes the whole society may constitute the experimental organism. In much the same way that arbitrary limits can be prescribed around nodal points with a society to signify a particular individual, so may arbitrary limits, for experimental and observational reasons, be set around nodal points of a psycho-motor activity. These nodal points of a psycho-motor expression may be called a *behavior pattern*, or an experimental organism, so long as it is the organization of neuro-muscular movements which concerns the investigator. Once the limits of observation have been deliberately established, the *changes* in the organization of the activity over a period of time would compose a study of behavior development.

The realization of the necessity of observing the same or comparable observational fields from time to time has evoked the current emphasis upon "longitudinal method" in the biological sciences, especially in the field of child development. The author, quoting Dr. C. E. Palmer, points out the state of confusion which has accrued concerning the longitudinal method of investigation. It is contrasted with the

cross-sectional method. *Longitudinal* observations are those made on the same individuals at different times while *cross-sectional* observations are those made on different individuals at one time. Palmer has refined the definition of longitudinal data as follows: "Any datum consisting of two or more observations of the same characteristic observed on the same individual shall be considered longitudinal. The interval between successive measurements may be any time whatsoever.

Dr. McGraw feels that this definition is too broad to illuminate or spot the essence of a longitudinal study. According to Palmer's definition, weight measured at birth and again when the child is ten years old, would yield longitudinal data. Such data would not, however, reveal the way in which the weight increment occurred. It would be necessary to have at least three observations on any phenomenon in order to show its course of growth, unless we are going to admit that all development is in the order of a straight line.

The longitudinal method gained eminence in studies of growth and development. These are concerned with *change* in form or configuration or *change in* magnitude. A longitudinal study must be conducted in such a way as to indicate the nature of the changes taking place in the observed phenomenon. It is therefore concluded that a longitudinal study would be comprised of any series of observations on a changing phenomenon taken successively from the moment of inception until the changing characteristic attains stability or decline.

The interval between observations and the limits of observations are determined primarily by the mathematical demands imposed upon the data rather than by the growing phenomenon *per se*. Thus, symbolic data, once they are organized into a meaningful system, can be manipulated on their own account so that relations and meanings can be deduced from these manipulations which perhaps could not have been detected in the direct data.

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THE BEHAVIOR MECHANISMS CONCERNED
WITH PROBLEM SOLVING. NORMAN R. F.
MAIER. *Psychological Review*. 47:43-59,
January, 1940.

The purpose of this paper is to present an analysis of the processes which may be called out or brought to function in problem situations. The author postulates at least three psychological processes to which he applies the terms, *variability in behavior, equivalence reactions, and reasoning*. He describes these processes and shows that they can be independently measured and studied.

The first to be investigated is variability in behavior. Hamilton studied the behavior of various animal forms in a multiple choice problem and concluded that "when a mammalian is confronted by a series of situations for which he is unable to discover and stereotype a specifically adequate and invariably successful mode of response, he tends to vary his response in a manner which is less a species than an individual characteristic." Krechevsky, in his studies on hypothesis behavior, reached similar conclusions. When one can discover the aspect of the situation which is determining the response, Krechevsky speaks of hypothesis behavior and when this cannot be determined, he speaks of variability. However, the author sees no reason for distinguishing between the two kinds of behavior except to recognize the differences in the frequency of changes in reaction.

Dr. Maier analyzed the hypothesis behavior of 8 normal and 8 partially deconditioned rats while solving a discrimination problem and found that the normal animals show an average of 1.6 hypotheses while the operated animals show an average of 3. He concluded that hypothesis behavior is a *slow motion picture* of variability and for this reason becomes a method for a more detailed study of variability.

Emotional excitement seems to be a physiological condition which inhibits the process making for variability. Hamilton stated that perseverance reactions tend to appear in emotional situations and points out that an adult "trapped and badly fright-

ened in a burning hotel, will rush madly to a part of the building which obviously will not afford escape." (This was well illustrated in the recent Boston Night Club fire and is a good indication that valid conclusions which hold for humans, can often be reached on the basis of studies of animal behavior). A problem situation must, therefore, not arouse emotional reactions if variability is to be effective. Even continued failure in a situation may eventually inhibit variability and we may say that the animal has given up. Inactivity, in such cases, replaces the variability in behavior.

The second type of behavior brought out in solving problem situations depends upon the mechanism which makes for equivalence reactions. Maier illustrates this in an experiment where rats were trained to discriminate a large black circle from a small black circle both on gray backgrounds. Some learned to react to a brightness difference while others learned to react to a size difference. When confronted with a new set of cards in which brightness and size were conflicting, some of the animals expressed one preference and some an opposite preference. In comparison with the first type of problem solving we may here speak of variability in perception. The reactions are equivalent but vary due to variability in the mechanism of perception. Individuals will differ in their equivalence reactions depending upon what aspect of the first situation determined the nature of the response.

The third manner in which a problem may be solved is by the integration of two or more separate past experiences. The integration is spontaneous and does not depend upon contiguity or variability. Maier designates this process of spontaneous integration as *reasoning*. He gives seven reasons for considering it basically different from learning and backs these up by experimental results:

1. Variability and association may be excluded in experimental situations and solutions occur nevertheless. This requires either a revision of the concepts of association and variability or the postulation of an additional process.

2. The same brain injuries which reduce the abilities to integrate experience spontaneously, may leave the association mechanism intact. Acceptance of both types of mechanisms is, therefore, logically sound.

3. The lack of correlation between scores on typical learning problems and reasoning problems, indicates that the processes are independent variables.

4. Young rats are superior to adults in learning problems and inferior in reasoning problems.

5. Children under 6 years of age are inferior to adult rats in reasoning problems indicating that the process involved matures relatively late.

6. In learning problems, associations are built up in backward order; in reasoning problems, they are built up in the forward order.

7. A reasoning problem is solved as a whole and is not a matter of building up the solution in stages.

Maier postulates a dynamic condition in the individual which determines what integrations are or are not made. Two types of dynamic conditions are in evidence. He calls these habitual and new directions. Habitual directions are states in which the individual reproduces old solutions. With the process, we can ac-

count for controlled or selective reproduction but not creative thinking. This type of problem solving corresponds to Krechevsky's *hypothesis*, Ach's *determining tendency* and Woodworth's and Sell's *atmosphere effect*.

New directions are less specific and give rise to combinations of old experiences or a new combination and hence a new product. In the human being, these new combinations are accompanied by changes in meaning which Maier believes constitute the experience of insight. The new meaning arises from the fact that the old elements have a change in function in the new combination, and because the combination has never before been experienced and the function is novel. Insight thus becomes a consequence rather than a cause in problem solving.

In support of the above contentions, Maier cites several of his own experiments with rats and Sherburne's experiments with humans. Further experimental tests must be performed to substantiate further the theory.

The article is particularly important for psychologists in that it demonstrates, to a certain degree, the applicability of conclusions drawn from animal experiments to the problems of human behavior.

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D - Anthropology & Sociology

A METHOD FOR STUDYING MORAL JUDGMENTS—FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS. ARTHUR HOSKING JONES. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 48:492-497, Jan., 1943.

The job of the social scientist is to develop methods for the investigation and compilation of meaningful and valid materials for study. After this is done, further researches must try to apply these methods to approximately similar condi-

tions in further studies different from the original. The basis for this article is an original paper appearing in the *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1941, called "A Method for Studying Moral Judgments," by John F. Cuber and Betty Pell.

In the original paper, twelve controversial questions concerning relations between sexes, were presented to a group of students in an Eastern University. The conclusions drawn, showed that the students considered the question controversial, the double standard was accepted when-

ever possible, and church affiliations was not an affective factor, in the judgments of issues.

This study is for the purpose of testing the methods used by Cuber and Pell. The questionnaire was presented to the University of Pennsylvania's students enrolled in a study course of the Family. Only seniors and juniors were present. The males predominated numerically. The age range approximated that of the original study by Cuber and Pell, although according to sex, the Cuber group, was almost equally divided. Due to the difference in the number tested by Jones, a percentage rather than a numerical basis, was substituted as a means of comparison between the two tests.

The fact that people do not live in abstractions, but in concrete situations, presents a difficulty in testing and measuring attitudes and moral judgments. However, it was found that presentation of an approximation of the true situation is superior to abstract generalizations as a method of checking attitude toward specific problems. One of the difficulties involved in a study of this kind relates to the obtaining of an accurate response. Is the response a true reflection of attitude, or a generalized behavioristically patterned response. In testing the validity of the response, consideration must be given to the experiential and cultural background of the individual.

A definite series of responses were received, when one particular question relating to moral judgment was asked. To test whether the answer was one of judgment or a reflection of experience, another question was presented, asking the testees whether or not they had gone through the experience that was originally judged. It was found that more than one half of the testees expressing approval of the action as stated in the questionnaire, did have this experience, and that slightly less than one half did not have the experience. The conclusion drawn, refers to the existence, in many people, of two sets of codes, one subjective, one objective. The stricter code is generally the one applied to the individual self. The validity of the response increases when the

problem presented approximates a situation experienced by the testee.

In a comparison between the Jones test and the Cuber-Pell test, there appears a significant male-female divergence of viewpoint, as evidenced by the two tests. Religious background seems to have the same effect upon the agreements and disagreements, as found in comparing the tests' results.

A relatively high degree of agreement exists in the findings of the two tests, the Jones and the Cuber-Pell. The greatest dichotomy of opinion in the two series appears in the responses based upon religious differences. Geographical divergence shows little effect, although the prime characteristic of the group studied showed a wide range of geographical origin.

The method used, both by Jones and Cuber-Pell, has value. Recognition of the criticisms expressed by Jones himself, should aid in perfecting the techniques to be used in subsequent studies.

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THE CONCEPTIONAL STATUS OF SOCIAL DIS-
ORGANIZATION. RALPH KRAMER. *The*
American Journal of Sociology. 48:466-
474, January 1943.

The components of human existence; society, culture, group, family, and, of late, the individual, have been so materialized that they haven't been recognized for what they really are, "conceptual frames of reference." The concept, society, may exist independent of the individual involved. Culture is constant and unchanging, while the components of the group, the individual, is a variant and is in a constant state of change. Culture, society and group, are merely frames of reference for material occurrences, and as such have often been thought of as material structures.

In any series of observations relating to the interpretation of societal development, two factors must be included in the

interpretation. One, the definition of the driving forces or concepts, and two, an experimental method to determine whether or not the motivation forces are present, in any specific observation. Only an analysis of the ideological properties of social disorganization, is to be presented in the paper. The experimental operations that determine the presence of these ideological factors cannot be analyzed for lack of space.

If social disorganization, an abnormality of societal development, is accepted as a condition rather than a process, then nothing is added to our knowledge of this phenomenon. All that is done is to state the presence of social disintegration when social problems appear. The condition view is a rigid definition, limited in its view and is essentially an expression of the alleged staticity of societal structure. Actually social disorganization is viewed as a process, the implication of the word immediately denotes movement and development. The best studies in the field use the "process" rather than the "condition" view of disorganization.

When social disorganization is viewed as a process, the implication of the word immediately denotes movement and development. The best studies in the field use the "process" rather than the "condition" view of disorganization.

There are five different schools of thought concerning the reasons for social breakdown. The view of the economic determinist holds that the basis for social breakdown is economic. This thesis does not include the other factors of culture and therefore is limited in its scope. There is no doubt that degeneration in the economic structure will have an important effect upon societal disbalance, but it will not necessarily be the only force at work. Another interpretation presented by a divergent school can be called the "laggist" theory. This is simply a view of social degeneration as a result of a lag between a slowly moving social development and a rapidly moving scientific technology. Actually, the lack of balance between societal and scientific development is a result of social unbalance and one must still find the reason for the lag. Still another

view holds that language is the most important factor in social disbalance. If terminology used in the society is contradictory, indefinite, outmoded, then the structure resulting from the application of language, will be in consistent, contradictory, and destructive. The individual breakdown (really social disorganization) is a result of an attempt at adjustment between the individual and inconsistent social symbols. To be sure, language is an important social force, but so exclusive a view as is this absolute doctrine, is not of positive value to scientific workers. A fourth thesis holds the Freudian concept, that disorganization of a society is due to the disorganization of the individual. Individual chaos derives from childhood experience, "frustrations, and deprivations on the part of the parents." To eliminate this breakdown in individuals' structure and thus in the organization of the whole society, childhood education is necessary. Other specific points are projected in this Freudian view. However, the other societal factors are again excluded and the rigid monism of this thesis does not help the researcher to complete the picture of social disorganization. The one advance of this school, however, has been to direct attention to the importance of considering the individual as the basis for social breakdown. The fifth group states that the clue to the problem under discussion exists in the relationship existing between the individual and the community. Complexity of the society results in the fragmentation of the group, and gives rise to a greater individual freedom and independence. Within this fifth school several slightly divergent, though related views are expressed. Cooley feels that disorganization results from too much departmentalization and organization. Institutional decay is the process so described. Thomas and Znaniecki believe that the extreme rugged individualism and the resulting breakdown of group authority over the individual, gives rise to social disorganization. The theses presented by the fifth group as a whole seem to be most acceptable, since all the factors departmentalized by the four previous groups, and others not mentioned, are included, and in so doing, gives a complete picture of the process of social disorganization. Group degeneration is a

very fundamental representative of social disintegration. This is not a causative factor but an index pointing toward the existing decadence. Group breakdown also acts as a referential concept wherein scientific order and perspective are employed to give interpretive meaning to the observable data. These two uses of group disintegration are legitimate in this study of the problem of social disorganization.

To conclude; social disorganization is a concept and a process not a condition. An interaction of multiple factors are found to be complements in this process. The interaction then becomes meaningful if interpreted in the light of group to individual relationship. All other factors, economic, psychologic, historic, semantic are included in the dynamic relationship of man to society. Maladjustments of the individual in reacting to social conditions produces an individual disintegration which then results in social breakdown. The sociologist must take the dynamic view of this phenomenon, and then apply these views to the problems at hand. The direction of the sociological study should be antithetical to that of the psychiatrist. Study of the group for the purpose of analyzing the individual should be the method of the sociologist, rather than study of the individual and from that the group, as the psychiatrists have been doing. The individual must be the focal point of the sociologist if one is to arrive at an analysis of social forces.

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COMMENT ON THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF SHAME. KURT RIEZLER. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 48:457-465. January, 1943.

Different tribes are known to be ashamed of different things. Before one can compare cultures, cognizance must be taken of the distinction between the attitude of shame and the components of

shame. Shame is a constant, the components are variables. Although the things one is ashamed of may differ according to the situation or the society, the basic concept of shame must be an integral part of the individual's structure or else the response to the moral codes of the group will not be forthcoming. If the concept of shame is present, then the categorization of acts shameful, can be accomplished through teaching. To a completely shameless being, the components cannot be taught. What is taught will be the response to a fear that is replacing the shame. Shame therefore is a product of society, although it is not entirely social in its contents.

Society acts upon man, man reacts, and in reacting acts upon himself. The relationship between man and his society can be formularized as; action-reaction-action. The application of this formula is shown by one's antagonism to being put to shame, not only in relation to the external world but also to the internal universe, himself. This antagonism increases as the number of avenues for saving face decreases. The reaction of the individual to himself can be stated in terms of the relationship existing between the "I" and the "Me." The "I" is the creator and the "Me" is the creatum. The self, or "I" of man, builds up within himself (his mind), a structural picture of himself, the "Me." The new structure, the "Me," is not quite the same as the original self, the "I." There exists a very delicate balance between these two concepts. A slight disturbance in the process relating to the construction of the "Me" by the "I," causes an intense antagonism to the disturbing stimulus. A complete destruction of the balance results in hate.

To avoid putting another to shame is a social law. The ability to do this is called "tact." Diplomacy is common to all groups, primitive and advanced. One of the unchanging codes of society is as follows: Do not put a man to shame. In social life a consciousness is present which creates in the individual an aversion to creating embarrassing situations for others, since we suffer sympathetically with the shamed person. This sympathetic reaction to others is called sociability. The aver-

sion to interfering with the balance between the "I" and the "Me," seems to be intuitive in the social individual.

Reference is made to the inferiority complex in relation to the concept of I and Me. Those suffering with an inferiority complex, are unconsciously ashamed of themselves. The complex itself is a specific reaction between the "I" and the "Me." An intense, unbending, unforgiving resentment, not toward others, but towards the self, results in these individuals when put to shame. The resentment to being shamed, as evidenced by group or individual, is a driving force in history, and has resulted in the conquest of peoples, whose unity between I and Me is complete and stable, by those showing instability between the I and Me. Tension creates strength, smugness creates weakness. Man is not static but dynamic, because of the disbalance between the "I" and the "Me," and this contradiction has produced progress. Shame is a vital factor in the study of man's history.

Although shame to most people infers a sexual basis, there are many non-sexual things that can bring shame. If we continue with the preconception that shame is predicated upon sex, then many primitive tribes would be classified as shameless. This they definitely are not, since many of our accepted modes of behavior, to these people, would seem shameful. Historically, however, shame is generally connected to sex and behavior based upon sex. Shame in many cases is a shock absorber to the sexual urges of maturity. Sex is a biological urge as opposed to love, the spiritual mover. Shame protects the "love urge from the biological urge and thus watches over the sublimation of sex." Love, when present in sexual relations, exiles shame. Sex without love does not eliminate shame. As a formula: as love increases shame decreases, as love decreases shame increases; (refers to the sexual act). In all of our relationships, sexual or otherwise, shame is present. Although diverse manifestations are apparent, one must conclude that the concept of shame is part of the internal structure of the process, whereby the self and the society are created by man. Shame is an absolute. There is a similarity of actions,

based upon shame, in all societies where the stress is placed upon the secretiveness of actions related to things shameful. Shame intensifies secretiveness and itself is part of the secret. Even language illustrates the usage of multiple terms to differentiate the kinds of shame, before the act, after the act, or during the act.

The systems of shame are as variable as the shames themselves. They may be named or un-named, conscious or unconscious, as the case may be. The force of shame seems to be strong when the social order is dynamic, and weak when the society is static or decadent. Shame is fastened to the growth and determining factors in the system called "the life of man." Codes and morals may change, but the shame is constant. This constant is not an artifact or superstructure of history, but inherent in history itself. It began and will end with man, and predates the concept of society; good, and evil.

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SYMPOSIUM ON THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS.

I. The Frustration - Aggression Hypothesis: Neal E. Miller, *Psychological Review*, 48:337-342, July, 1942.

II. Non - Aggressive Reactions to Frustration: Robert R. Sears. *Ibid* 343-346.

III. Need - Persistent and Ego - Defensive Reactions to Frustration as Demonstrated by an Experiment on Repression: Saul Rosenzweig. *Ibid* 347-349.

IV. The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis and Culture: Gregory Bateson. *Ibid* 350-355.

V. The Hostile Act: David M. Levy. *Ibid* 356-361.

VI. Frustration Phenomena in the Social and Political Sphere: George W. Hartmann, *Ibid* 362-363.

VII. Deprivation, Threat and Frustration: A. H. Maslow. *Ibid* 364-366.

Recent investigations by sociologists and clinical psychologists on the traits of frustration and aggression are of considerable interest to criminologists inasmuch as

these motivations are frequently seen in anti-social conduct particularly of the assaultive type and paranoid behavior in general. The following symposium is the result of a request by the editors of *Psychological Review* for opinions regarding the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis as originally presented in the book by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears under the title of "Frustration and Aggression," New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939. Each of the authors selected for the review of this hypothesis presents a school of thought so that the symposium represents a well-rounded viewpoint of social scientists.

Miller in the first paper of the symposium devotes a considerable portion of his discussion to defending himself and his co-authors of the book from an inadvertent statement made in the preface which caused a good deal of discussion and disagreement among the followers of this movement; namely, the statement that "the occurrence of aggression always presupposes frustration and the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression." The first portion of this statement is sound and defensible, he states, but the second portion was not sufficiently elaborated to clarify his original intention. The author says that the body of the discussion indicates clearly his intentions but for some reason or other the preface was read by quite a number of workers and has been widely misunderstood. Miller then seeks to clarify and elaborate the hypothesis. He points out that the instigation to aggression with respect to its intensity may occupy various levels of dominance in given situations in accordance with the factors involved. The response to the situation has the effect of either weakening or strengthening the aggressive impulse. If these responses are non-aggressions so that sense of frustration results, aggression tends to become more dominant. Frustration may induce types of responses other than aggression. The original instigating factor in a situation may be inhibited.

The chief lines of investigation with the frustration-hypothesis are to integrate and elucidate clinical and social data par-

ticularly along the line of individual and massed aggression; to investigate the different ways in which instigation to aggression will be expressed under specific circumstances especially the mechanisms of displacement of catharsis of aggression; to secure additional data as to how frustration may lead to undesirable consequences in addition to aggression (trial and error learning, substitute response and aggression); finally to improve or reformulate the basis of the frustration-aggression hypothesis itself.

Sears in his article on non-aggressive reactions to frustration which have been touched upon by the preceding paper points out that any action undertaken by an organism tends to come to the final completion which may or may not be the original goal selected. If the sequence of acts has been such as to bring about the final goal response, the instrumental act sequence is reinforced and by the same token the performance of the acts and the goal response itself is reinforced. This is nothing more or less than stating that the more momentum a moving object attains, the less resistance has to be overcome to arrive at its final destination. If the succession of acts is interfered with so that the final goal response is not attained, then the sense of frustration is set up and the production of a special secondary goal which may be aggression likewise comes into being. There are other secondary responses besides secondary aggression, however, which have been characterized by the author under three headings:

1. No adjustment whatever is secured and the organism tends to repeat the same senseless routine in learning anything by the process. This is especially seen in lower animals and in children.

2. The individual may shift his line of approach to the same goal and use a different technique. The trial and error method of behavior brought out so clearly by Thorndyke is quite illustrative of this type of approach. Children who are suffering from sickness are inclined to use this technique in order to get sympathy and attention.

3. A different goal response may be selected as a substitute for the original one and a different line of acts in sequence may be instigated. This solution of a given situation has been much exploited by the Freudian school under the concepts of regression and sublimation. The most frequent example, of course, of this method of achieving some type of goal response is the so-called "substitute response." The individual becomes satisfied with the substituted goal response which approximates to some extent the original one which has become unattainable. The analysis of reactions to frustration in terms in instigation, instrumental acts and goal responses is not the only way in which they can be systematized. On the other hand this method provides a behavioral and potentially experimental basis for the understanding of such behavior.

Rosenzweig introduces a special type of reaction to frustration under the term "need-persistive" which serves to protect the integration of the personality when the latter is threatened by a frustrating situation. In Freudian terms this is the equivalent of defensive reactions when the ego itself is being threatened. The Freudian concept of sublimation points chiefly to need-persistent reactions while that of projection concerns the defense of the ego. Reaction formation is a combination of these two since the inhibitive impulse gains satisfaction indirectly through sublimation while the protecting of the ego is done by the displacement mechanism of projection. The author believes that most of the mechanisms of psychoanalysis can be similarly fitted into the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Most behavior involves both types of reactions; namely, the adjustment of the individual to the particular need he has in the attainment of a goal response and to the fate of the individual himself as a whole which involves the integration and coordination of the personality. The need-persistent and ego defensive reactions proceed therefore from a typically psychobiological basis.

This hypothesis, as Bateson clearly demonstrates, postulates the establishment of a sequence of acts which lead to a

goal. In the event that the sequence is interrupted, frustration may occur with two possible types of switching from one sequence to another. In the first type, substitution occurs in which the reinforcing act is comparable to that of the original series. In this way partial satisfaction is obtained. The second type is a switch to aggression in which the reinforcing goal becomes fundamentally different from that of the original interrupted sequence. Dr. Bateson, however, calls attention to some weaknesses in this hypothesis and his entire discussion is on the side of the ultra-conservative. He says, for example, that the human element is not given definite consideration and that the individual is treated almost as if he existed "in vacuo." He assumes that the originators of the hypothesis did not intend primarily that all of these concepts should be reduced to the level of a spinal reflex but that they might have had in consideration the cultural element of such structuralization. He asks pertinently, "How is a certain structuralization of sequences of acts taught to the child? How does it learn to see life as composed of a smooth series of enjoyable acts rather than as separate sequences of acts where each sequence leads up to some satisfying climax?"

Bateson turns to his anthropological material for an answer to these questions. He finds that among the Iatmul of New Guinea the children may meet such requirements and has noted them driving out mosquitoes, besmirching the air with violent sexual abuse; of the native adults of that country becoming wildly excited by cutting down a tree which is the equivalent of an assault. In these sequences the temper tantrum is fundamentally only another case of a substitute response and therefore meets the first type of switching sequence as outlined above. On the other hand among the Balinese, Bateson was unable to find such substitute conduct and called attention to the curious way in which mothers would tantalize their children into response which called for frustration with aggression and then completely ignore the situation. This trained the Balinese into becoming exceedingly complacent toward all situations. No matter how occupied and earnest they might be

in the pursuit of any task, interruptions would not apparently give them a sense of frustration. The author assumes, therefore, that human acts are primarily and essentially inter-personal in order to bring the aggression sequence under the head of substitution.

The intensive work which *Dr. David M. Levy* has undertaken in connection with Sibling Rivalry and hostile aggressive reactions in children peculiarly fits him for the discussion of this subject from the orthopsychiatric point of view. He calls attention to the various ways in which children may react to a frustration situation by means other than aggression. One particular technique employed successfully is the new baby situation. Children who are placed in a position to react to a doll representing the advent of a new baby brother as a rival run through the various gamuts which are to be found in reactions to frustrations. Some of these are enumerated by the author and cover such reactions as assault of the baby, change of direction of goal as illustrated by changing the type of play, by leaving the playroom, by assumption of stupidity as if they did not want to admit they understood the situation, by a frank admission that they did not know what to do under the circumstances, etc. On quite a number of occasions where aggressive assault upon the baby was made, the child expressed immediate feelings of remorse or explanations for such an act. In many of these assaults the action was not carried out completely but only a half-hearted attempt was made. The implication of this work is that controlling mechanisms are in operation in frustration which prevent even in aggressive behavior a complete abandonment to the force of the emotions. *Dr. Levy* has appended a very excellent footnote in small type in which the feelings of anxiety are related in Freudian terminology to the frustration-aggression hypothesis.

Hartmann shows how the frustration-aggression hypothesis can be related to the political scene. The individual who casts a ballot for a losing political candidate is subject to frustration but in a democratic country like America one learns to accept

the situation in a sportsmanlike manner. There is a realization, of course, that a chance one can again cast his ballot on the same subject always exists. In totalitarian countries this is not possible and the sense of frustration must, therefore, be much deeper. The political candidate himself, if he is defeated, suffers a similar frustration. If he is a member of the minority, he learns to expect defeat and in other cases he has no difficulty in finding jobs and, therefore, his sense of frustration is not great. Many of the professional politicians are highly extroverted and are adaptable to losing situations. Reformers, however, are often highly sensitive and loss in political competition may often be attended by severe reactions upon themselves personally.

Maslow says there is great danger in applying the frustration-aggression hypothesis segmentally and that the theory should be applied only to the individual as an integrated organism. It is this failure to see the situation as a whole that has led many investigators to apply the hypothesis to unimportant situations where an actual deprivation has not occurred. The author believes that the hypothesis should apply to frustrations which are the outgrowth of a threat to the individual's personality, to the life goal he has set up for himself or to his feeling of security or self-esteem or other situations of serious import. *Maslow* points out that adequate consideration must be given to the symbolical meaning attendant upon a given situation. For example, if a child is deprived of an ice cream cone by his mother, the loss of the cone itself is relatively unimportant but the symbolical loss which he may feel through the denial is that his mother perhaps no longer loves him, that he has suffered loss of prestige and that her affections may lie elsewhere. This symbolical representation in every frustration situation is by far the most important element involved in the reaction upon the individual himself. Threatening frustration is closely allied to other threat situations much more than it is to other deprivations. The threat to the personality then becomes the important thing rather than the deprivation itself.

V. C. B.

THE ROLE OF FRUSTRATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. NORMAN R. F. MAIER. *Psychological Review*. 49:586-600, Nov., 1942.

The author contrasts frustration and motivation as determiners of behavior. Frustration may, and does, result in aggression in some instances, regression, in other conditions and fixation or stereotyped behavior under certain circumstances. These forms of behavior differ qualitatively from that resulting from motivation and goal response.

The above points are illustrated by a discussion of several studies and experiments. Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears made out an adequate case for the relationships between frustration and aggression, pointing out that a goal response which has been blocked gives rise to aggressive behavior which may be directed at the frustrating agent, or even at innocent bystanders. Once the frustration has occurred, the previous goal, the attainment of which has been frustrated, may cease to determine the behavior and the aggression becomes a function of the frustration rather than the original goal.

Barker, Dembo and Lewin performed experiments with nursery school children proving that regressive behavior may also result from frustration. After frustration, the constructiveness of the children's play activity regressed nearly one and one half years, the amount of regression being related to the degree of frustration experienced by the individual.

Maier, Glaser and Klee as well as Kleemaier, in their experiments with animals, have shown that fixations arose as a result of frustration. Hamilton and Patrick have proved the appearance of stereotypy in the behavior of individuals subjected to emotional states. In the animal experiments position habits were produced in rats by accumulated frustration. Since position habits can also be established by rewarding the rat for the positional response (motivation), it is possible to compare the same responses established under the two conditions. Such a comparison shows that the position habits established under the two conditions differed funda-

mentally in that those formed by frustration were subject to modification only when the animal was prevented from reacting, whereas those formed through motivation could be changed by merely altering the method of reward. Under the first condition many animals were unable to learn a new response, whereas under the second condition the old habit was readily replaced by a new or more adaptive response.

Since aggression, regression and fixation or stereotyped behavior, satisfy no needs whereas goal behavior does, frustration is a qualitatively different determiner of behavior than motivation. All of the experiments discussed indicate that the same behavior formed under conditions of frustration and motivation have basically different properties. Having made the distinction between goal-motivated and frustration-instigated behavior, the writer applies the same concepts in explaining group behavior and social movements.

The transition from individual behavior to group behavior is illustrated by an example. We attempt to induce a child to shovel snow. If he resists, we threaten him with punishment. A conflict results because the child is pushed into the task by the threat and pushed away from it by its unpleasantness. This conflict may be regarded either as a conflict between motives or as a frustrating situation. If the child tends to attack the parent, he shows evidence of frustration. If the aggression is withheld because the punishment may thereby be increased, his frustration is further intensified. Tensions now accumulate. The child will be very suggestible. Another child may propose that they run away together. Here is a way out and the tensions find their release in escape activity. The other child may also increase the frustration by asking him to play ball or by poking fun at him. The behavior of the frustrated child, in either case, will depend upon the accumulated strains already set up.

Applying this to the larger problem of group behavior, the German people experienced a long period of frustration which was heightened by the depression.

One aspect of Hitler's influence was further to increase the frustration by reminding them of their lost honor and the brutality of the Versailles Treaty. He even introduced frustrating factors when he subjected the people to personal sacrifices, to the interference of the Gestapo, etc. The mass frustration in Germany had no immediate outlet. Aggression was excluded because the cause was either too vague or too powerful, and the tension accumulated. With these tensions crying for relief, Hitler now organized or channelized the aggression. By pointing his finger at Jews, Communism, Imperialism, etc. Hitler focalized the aggressive action to meet the demands of the time. Since aggressive behavior is destructive in nature, movements which are built up around aggression are characterized by destruction. This is one type of social movement.

The other type is based not on frustration but on motivation. In such a social movement, a large group of individuals must experience the same needs and demand the same goals as satisfiers of needs. Propaganda at best may co-ordinate the needs.

As the structure of the two types of social movements is different, the functions of the leaders also contrast with each other. In frustration-aggression controlled movements, the leader directs and releases the energy built up through frustration. In groups organized around goals, the leader serves largely as a representative of

the group. Instead of primarily directing the group's goal motivation, he, to a greater degree, is directed by them.

Fascism and Democracy may represent relatively pure cases of the two types of social movement, the first being based on frustrations and accompanying aggression, the other on motivation toward a common goal.

Maier concludes the paper by listing and discussing eleven practical implications of his theoretical exposition. Many of them can be tested and may support or refute the analysis. Among those listed are the following:

1. No great or effective movement is possible unless it rests primarily upon previous frustration.
2. Nations are more effective in waging wars than in constructing a peace program.
3. If the U. S. is to aid in the defeat of the Axis and still retain its goal-motivated democratic way of life, it must be done with the counterbalance of superior physical equipment.
4. The introduction of hate for the enemy will naturally impose difficulties on the attainment of a wise peace settlement because peace terms should be goal-motivated.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

E. Social & Statistics

RECENT LITERATURE ON INDIVIDUAL CORRELATES OF CRIME. MILTON MELTFESSEL AND CONSTANCE LOVELL. *Psychological Bulletin*. 39:133-164, March 1942.

In this article, the authors have set themselves the monumental task of reviewing a decade of literature on crime and delinquency. In the space of 31 pages, they bring to the prospective researcher

and to the criminologist, a mass of highly useful information based upon numerous books, articles and researches published from 1930 to 1940. Some of the conclusions which the authors reach are of far-reaching importance.

A review of published material on the theories of crime causation leads the authors to conclude that most of the studies stated or implied that crime is the result of many factors, of which the one studied

was but a single instance. Certain of the factors studied were descriptive of individuals; others referred to the environment. The review is confined to literature on several of the individual correlates of crime.

The authors group the studies under the headings of these individual correlations: chronological age, sex, race and nationality, physical traits, intelligence, and specific personality traits. Under each heading they review the available literature and reach certain conclusions.

In the section on chronological age, they state that during the past decade, additional evidence has been presented to demonstrate that young people furnish more criminals than their frequency in the population warrants. The possibility is pointed out by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears, in their book on frustration and aggression, that crime may tend to be a youthful occupation because, with age, the individual becomes more settled in society, his level of frustration generally decreases and his responsiveness to the threat of punishment becomes greater.

For no correlate of crime has their been found a more marked relationship than that between sex and crime. The authors point out that the ratio of male to female arrests at the present time is about 10 to 1 for all offenses, but, since commercialized vice and minor offenses are generally punishable by fine or local imprisonment, the ratio of men to women in federal and state prisons is probably greater.

Differences in the crime rates of the individuals representing various races and nationalities have been revealed by many varied studies. The authors, in summarizing evidence gathered in the past decade, state that, in the main, immigrants are more law abiding than negroes and native whites. However, the crime rates of the children of immigrants is higher than those of native born whites and of immigrants. This has been attributed to cultural conflicts by Eleanor Glueck in her study. Sutherland regards such cultural conflict as the underlying cause of systematic criminal behavior.

Studies of physical traits and crime have been of two types; those investigating the physical characteristics of offenders and those studying the incidence of criminals and delinquents in groups with physical disorders. Comparing 668 native white criminals with a non-criminal group, E. A. Hooton concluded that the primary cause of crime is biological inferiority. This is disputed by the results of a number of varied researches quoted by the authors. These agree that there seems to be no distinct physical type associated with delinquency and crime but that physical disabilities are found more frequently in criminals than in the normal population. What relation there is between physical traits and crime is generally thought of as an indirect one.

In the section on intelligence as a correlate of crime, the authors consider significant studies on the incidence of feeble-mindedness among offenders, intelligence test scores of offenders, intelligence in relation to age of offenders, intelligence in relation to sex of offenders and intelligence and recidivism. Out of the mass of conclusions, the reviewer will list the most important.

There is considerable disagreement as to just how important intelligence is as a correlate of crime, but the studies do, in the main, support placing the typical delinquent in the dull normal class. Thus, Sutherland concluded that feeble-mindedness has not been demonstrated to be a generally important cause of crime. Zeleny, on the other hand, calculated from 163 studies of criminal intelligence, using the Binet test, that 30% of 61,999 criminals had been diagnosed as feeble-minded. Most studies agree that feeble-mindedness is a very serious individual influence in criminality when it does occur.

Selling and Stein have pointed out that the delinquent boy is handicapped on tests which involve verbal responses. Several tests other than the Binet, such as the Goodenough drawing test, Porteus maze test, and Arthur performance test, have been experimented with and found of value for work with delinquents according to the authors.

In considering the relationship of intelligence to type of crime, the authors cite evidence for the conclusion that those convicted of crimes of acquisition are a relatively superior group and those convicted of sex crimes are a relatively inferior one.

The authors cite several studies on intelligence and recidivism, bringing out the conclusion that recidivists do not form the lowest of all intelligence groups and, therefore, low intelligence alone is not direct cause of crime.

The summary of evidence on the relation of intelligence and other factors to crime, shows that intelligence as a factor probably is undervalued in studies, and vague concepts such as "bad parents" probably are overvalued.

Studies of offenders by means of a number of different personality tests such as the Pressey-Interest-Attitude Test, the Bernreuter Inventory, the Kent-Rosanoff Word Association Scale, and many others, have been reported. It is not possible to give here the voluminous conclusions reached, except to state that test results show offenders to be inferior in many aspects of personality, as illustrated by their emphasis on worry, their high neurotic tendency and their retardation on tests of social maturity.

The bibliography contains 96 titles, some of which are themselves bibliographies or summaries of literally dozens of other studies. Prospective researchers dealing with any of the individual correlates of crime would do well to carefully review this article.

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DEFECTIVE SOCIAL INTELLIGENCE AS A FACTOR IN CRIME. P. V. YOUNG. *American Sociological Review*. 3:213-217, 1938.

One of the limitations in the studies of causal factors in crime is their too het-

erogenous selection of cases with the many complexities entering into the behavior patterns of varied age groups, nationalities, cultures and different stages of criminal behavior. Another limitation is that the different determinants of criminal behavior almost invariably have been studied as unitary, with little reference to the cultural world or the changes in the role of personality which influence the behavior pattern. The objectives of the present study were to examine the process of criminality as a *Gestalt* in a highly selected group and to learn the extent and the nature of the relationships between the personal configurated experiences, the social world and the changes in the role of personality which contributed to their criminal behavior.

Two thousand consecutive probation records of men who had applied for probation at the Los Angeles County Probation Department during 1933 were taken for study. The records revealed the following: 57 per cent were under 30 years of age; 75 per cent were native born; 86 per cent were "non-transients;" 59 per cent were reared by both parents and 83 per cent were reared at home by one or both parents; 45 per cent had completed at least grammar school and 63 per cent had more than 8th but less than 12th grade education; 65 per cent were Protestants; 90 per cent were of "normal" intelligence; 95 per cent were in good health at the time of arrest; 56 per cent had committed crimes against property, *i. e.*, they were charged with burglary, robbery, grand larceny, auto theft, forgery, and embezzlement. Ninety per cent admitted the use of intoxicants, and 30 per cent admitted the use of alcohol to excess; only 2 per cent admitted the use of drugs. Two hundred and fifty cases with the following common traits were then studied to secure a more homogeneous group: (1) men, (2) under 30 years of age, (3) white, (4) Protestant, (5) American born, (6) of American born parents, (7) of "normal" intelligence, (8) of good health, (9) who had at least a grammar school education but not more than high school, (10) who had committed offenses against property, (11) who were not transients in Los Angeles, (12) who were reared at home by at least one

parent. Only 30 per cent were first offenders; 70 per cent had a juvenile court record and or a police record and or a criminal court record; or all combined. With few exceptions some of the following characteristics appeared as a complex in 70 per cent of the cases studied: (1) family control was seriously undermined; (2) these men had failed not only to establish strong ties at home but they also have none, or feeble ties to the community, its institutions and social groups; (3) they left school between 15 and 18 years of age (peak at 16) and started to work in blind alley jobs; (4) while at present legally county residents, they represent a high degree of mobility with no roots in any community; (5) they only vaguely understand the social codes and standards of urban life; (6) they distinguish verbally between right and wrong but fundamentally they have very little conception of what constitutes right in the complex, formal, impersonal, social organization of an urban society.

The statement is made that "criminality is essentially rooted in social conflicts." Though these men have native intelligence, they lack urban and social intelligence; they lack specific occupational skills, absorbing interests, roots in a social world which would provide status, responsibility, challenging activities and satisfying response.

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New York City.

ONE HUNDRED CASES OF INDECENT EXPOSURE. ALEX J. ERIEFF AND DAVID B. ROTMAN. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. 96:523-528, Nov., 1942.

The approach to this subject by the authors is largely statistical. It was found that 33% of all sex offenders in the Psychiatric Institute in the Municipal Court of Chicago came under the category of indecent exposure. With respect to age

grouping the peak was met in the third decade in life, then in the second and fourth in that order. Eighty-four per cent of the offenders were between the ages of 17 and 40. With respect to race, negroes were less likely to be offenders than the white races. Religion and education were of no particular significance. With respect to occupation, the laboring group was proportionately more inclined to this offense than other types. Marriage did not seem to be effective in some cases although in general the greater proportion of the offenders were single. As would be expected, some of these offenders were parolees from State hospital institutions or have had past record of such residence. The mental defectives among the institutional group were twice as numerous, with schizophrenics and senile dementias being the next diagnoses in order of frequency. Among the non-institutional groups, borderline states were encountered as the most numerous type. These would include mental defectives and potential psychotics. Second in order of diagnostic importance were the compulsive neurotic group and the so-called constitutional psychopathic states. Contrary to common belief, alcoholism is not a contributory cause to exhibitionism.

Some remarks are made by the authors about the behavior of lower forms of animal life. Exhibitionism among primates especially those anthropoids which come closest to the human species is quite well-known. Polynesians stage exhibitionary dances preparatory to the sexual act. Certain types of exhibitionism are considered as preparatory phases to mating. The authors draw the following conclusions regarding exhibitionism; namely, that even in the marital state some sexual deprivation seems to exist but the bizarre method of satisfying sexual needs through exhibitionism suggests an inability to appreciate a normal goal. Even among those who have a sound sexual life, there may be some tendency toward exhibitionism. Most exhibitionists do not belong to the first-offender type but they have broken the law a number of times previously by the same or similar offenses.

V. C. B.

F - Medicine & Biology

DELINQUENCY AND THE ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAM. WARREN T. BROWN AND CHARLES I. SOLOMON. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 98:499-503, January 1942.

The study involves the examination of twenty boys committed to a State Training School for Delinquents and represents sampling rather than a "run of the mine." Three types of delinquents were examined: the first group comprised those with history of persistent severe anti-social behavior; the second group involved those with a history of sporadic and moderately severe anti-social behavior with a recent history of delinquency; and the third group comprised those "accidentally delinquent." The clinical results of the electroencephalographic study provided four patterns; namely, the "psychomotor-like" group, those showing a pattern similar to petit mal epilepsy, the irregularly abnormal electroencephalographs and the normal type.

With respect to the psychomotor-like group, eleven of the twenty examined came under this category. The authors have used this term advisedly and state that this particular pattern is characterized by slow, square-topped and irregularly shaped waves appearing chiefly in the frontal area and occasionally to be seen in the central area. They have adopted this term because the pattern shows a striking resemblance to that seen in psycho-motor epileptics as noted by Gibbs and Gibbs, and Lennox. In this clinical grouping there were eight delinquents of the persistent anti-social behavior group and three of the moderately severe anti-social behavior with recent history of delinquency.

Those belonging to the petit mal clinical grouping were three in number and were insufficient to draw any conclusions. However, the authors felt that inasmuch as these limited series bore out the results of other investigators in this field, it was worthwhile reporting their interpretations. Of the three boys showing the petit mal pattern, one was a chronic delinquent and two showed moderately severe delinquent behavior with recent offenses.

The third clinical group characterized by the author as showing irregularly abnormal E. E. G's probably could be characterized as the sub-group of the psychomotor-like pattern. The former has many psychomotor features but they are not so clearly cut nor persistent but are inclined to show irregularly formed slow waves. Evidently they are an aberrant pattern and perhaps do not deserve a separate clinical entity. Two of the chronic delinquent boys came into this grouping and one of the boys showed prolonged moderately severe delinquency with recent misbehavior.

Of the normal E. E. G's three of the boys out of the twenty studied showed such patterns.

The authors seemed to place rather more reliance upon the abnormality of their findings than has been done by investigators in similar fields and have come to the conclusion that "the high incidence of abnormal E. E. G's in this group of twenty delinquents even excluding those with histories of neurological disease suggests the strong probability of a considerable incidence in the total delinquent population." From the therapeutic viewpoint, it would seem that some of the boys yielded well to treatment with dilantin.

V. C. B.

THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM IN MILITARY SERVICE. MAJOR MERRILL MOORE, M. C. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*. 3:244-256, Sept., 1942.

In spite of routine examinations, a certain number of individuals with alcoholic and/or addictive personalities manage to enter the armed forces. This number might be reduced somewhat by more careful neuropsychiatric examinations at recruiting offices and draft selection centers. "Alcoholism" is assumed to be a disease (or the symptom of a disease) of un-

known origin, comparable in some ways to diabetes. The "alcoholic" individual is assumed to be a sick man (or a sub-standard individual) who does not tolerate alcohol as a normal person, who reacts extremely to it, and who tends to drink to excess. The alcoholic should not attempt to drink, at all.

Once alcoholic individuals are in the Service, they react in various ways. Some benefit from military discipline and drink less, others drink more and get into further difficulties. It cannot be said that the Army is "good for the alcoholic" as some persons naively believe, and it is obvious that the alcoholic is not "good for the Army." Excessive drinking among troops is an index of poor material or poor morale. Morale can be improved by careful attention on the part of superior officers to the personal, emotional and social needs of the enlisted men, and by the development of wholesome and satisfactory recreational and entertainment facilities for men in the Armed Services. These can serve as adequate emotional outlets to drain emotional energy that, undrained, might be blown off in desperate or destructive drinking. Empirically it can be and is being continually demonstrated that morale is higher and excessive drinking is less among troops who have good leadership, good management, fair treatment, and when sports, games, dances, parties, and other recreational and entertainment opportunities are adequate and suitable to the needs of the men.

Prohibition, or other repressive measures are completely inadequate and inappropriate where alcoholic beverages for soldiers are concerned. Alcoholic beverages should be sold around army camps, preferably in decent and pleasant settings, with music and companionship if possible, as in civilian life. There should be no objection to the sale of beer at Army posts, if the conditions of sale are adequately controlled. These conditions favor relaxation and recreation of the spirit which is essential to balance the strains and tensions of routine military life. These conditions constitute no hazards at all, certainly no problem for the normal individual. Drinking in moderation should be encouraged. Excessive drinking should be discouraged.

The following points in moderate or soldierly (or gentlemanly) drinking are emphasized: (1) Always eat *before* drinking and *while* drinking. (2) Sip, instead of gulping. (3) Choose "tall" drinks like highballs rather than concentrated ones like cocktails. Other points are given for the benefit of the junior officer who may have to deal with an alcoholic individual in his command. These points emphasize teaching the alcoholic individual to gain self-confidence and to find satisfactory emotional outlets in nonalcoholic ways.

This paper outlines and discusses the alcohol problem in military life broadly, then offers specific methods for dealing with it in a realistic and practical way. It is written from the psychological as well as the medical point of view, by an Army psychiatrist now serving with troops on active duty in the present war.

(Author's Abstract).

RETROSPECTIVE STUDY OF A CASE INVOLVING SUICIDE. THOMAS K. RATHMELL AND KENNETH M. CORREN. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*. 91:316-322, March 1940.

In brief the case presented was that of a woman who waylaid a prominent physician and fired three shots into his body at close range as he stepped from his car to enter his home. She gave no reason for the homicide and it was suspected from the start that she was not mentally normal. She was sent to a State Hospital where she became moody and would lock herself in her room for days at a time. There was one period in which she was assaultive, violent and noisy and had an attack of some sort in which she became rigid. Shortly thereafter while seated quietly, she slumped suddenly in her chair and was found to be dead. Postmortem findings indicated that the vessels of the Circle of Willis were extremely hypoplastic, especially those supplying the frontal lobes. There was a massive subarachnoid hemorrhage from rupture of a congenital aneurysm at a point immediately adjacent

to the junction of the left internal carotid artery into the middle cerebral. It was evident that the vascular supply to the brain, particularly those areas which serve higher psychic function, was deficient.

The history of the case indicates that there was a previous thyroidectomy at which time the attending physician recorded the observation of "paranoid dementia praecox personality." The patient, as a child, became unhappy upon the remarriage of her mother. She was subject to depressed moods in school. She withdrew from social contacts and gave herself over to excessive phantasy and day-dreaming. At the time that the thyroid disturbance asserted itself, the patient was in a more or less constant emotional turmoil and all the buried phantasies of adolescence became revived and entered consciousness. She fixed upon her physician as their external objective. The morbid ideas, emotions, and disorders of the will which clearly indicated the schizophrenic personality in this individual came to their culmination in later life as a destructive act.

The authors point out the frequency with which dementia praecox patients with thyroid disease follow the pattern laid down by this particular case. They furthermore venture the suggestion that the vascular supply to the cerebral cortex is adequate in the pre-adolescent period in these cases but later burdens led to a thyroid disturbance and the cerebral vascular compensation could not be maintained. They suggest that the deficiency in circulation affects not only a portion of the cerebral cortex (in this case, the frontal lobes) but also that the region of the hypothalamus, the anterior thalamic nuclei, and the hippocampus are inadequately supplied. This corresponds to the region known as the "circuit of emotions of Papez."

V. C. B.

THE PERVERSE CONSTITUTION AND RESPONSIBILITY. SUSANA SOLANO. *Archivos de Medicina Legal, Argentina*. 12:20-47, Jan. April, 1942.

This is an address delivered by the author at the Second Latin American Con-

gress of Criminology which met in Santiago, Chile in January of 1941. Dr. Solano begins by stating that the time has passed when one can dogmatically state that man is the result of two distinct entities—body and mind. Against this conception stands the school which conceives of man as a biological unity, indivisible, which can neither be decomposed nor analyzed into elements but must be studied as a whole.

There are two schools in vogue which study man from the point of view of biological types: the German School, whose representative is Ernst Kretschmer and the Italian School, which can be represented by DeGiovanni.

Kretschmer was the first to point out the "correlation" between morphological type and psychological make-up. He postulated four morphological types, *pyknic*, *leptosomatic*, *athletic*, and *dysplastic*. He observed a close relationship between the psychological character and temperament of the subject and his morphological type.

In the *pyknic type*, the horizontal measurements predominate over the longitudinal. The trunk is larger than the limbs; the abdomen greater than the thorax. Psychological make-up: simple nature, humble, frank, sociable, placid, good, amiable, easily understood.

In the *leptosomatic type*, the longitudinal measurements predominate over the horizontal. The trunk is smaller than the limbs, the abdomen less than the thorax. They are idealists, dreamers, aesthetes, with fine sensibilities. At times they feel exuberant and at other times miserable. They are egocentric, unstable, asthenic and indulge in autistic thinking. Their autism can be converted to an auto-eroticism which impedes the unfolding of their sexual life, resulting in degenerative practices and at times in a complete narcissism.

The *athletics*, as distinct from the *pyknics*, are individuals of great strength, heavy of form and movement. They are laconic in speech and inexpressive. Intellectually, they show little activity but Kretschmer admits that they have a rapid imagination. Their activity is slow but tenacious, with graduations between the phlegmatic and the explosive. In short, they possess a temperament with characteristics of the cyclothymic and of the schizoid.

The dysplastic type is an intermediate type which suffer from endocrine disturbances.

Various modifications of Kreschmer's theory were made by Blonsky, Julius Bauer, Tandler, Martius and others. Blonsky notes that each age has a predominant psychophysical type. From his investigations, he reaches the conclusion that you cannot find the athletic nor the dysplastic types before puberty and that it is difficult to determine the constitutional type of the individual before his development has been completed.

Achilles DeGiovanni, of the Italian School of Biotypology, defines man in these words: "He is a harmonious synthesis of organs and systems which in a mutual relationship cement the individual entity in its completion: form, function and mind." DeGiovanni groups individuals in morphological combinations: *longitypes* and *brachytypes*, both capable of subdivision according to the proportions of the bodily segments. The average type of each group is the "*normotype*" and the extreme types are called "*ectypes*."

The ideal "*normotype*" would be the ultimate of physical beauty, Apollo in the male and Venus deMilo in the female. Its biometric formula: limbs of equal dimension to the trunk, thorax equal to the abdomen, achieving perfect symmetry. He admits the "*large normal*" and the "*small normal*" *normotypes*.

The "*longitype*" has the trunk less in size than the limbs and the abdomen less than the thorax. The accompanying temperament is schizoid, with perfect integration of intelligence, a tendency to an excessive consumption of energy with morbid consequences. In this type we find the inventors, the mathematicians, the philosophers, the pure moralists who rise up against despotism.

The "*ectypes*" would be the "*asthenics*," thin types, but well proportioned with a well developed musculature and skeleton. Their temperament varies between cycllothymic and schizoid. They are intelligent, energetic, impulsive, unstable, inconstant and hypersensitive.

Other Italian biotypologists like Jacinto Viola, Nicola Pende and Benigno

Di Tullio developed modifications of DeGiovanni's system of typology. Viola utilized the binomial normal curve of Quetelet-Gauss to determine the average man and how much an individual differs from the normal. He thus applied the concept of individual differences to this field. Pende symbolically represented the human personality utilizing the schema of a triangular pyramid whose base would be the hereditary substratum and each one of the sides: the somatic aspect, temperament and character. Pende grouped man into two biotypes: anabolic and catabolic, admitting the average type and the extreme types of DeGiovanni. His theory is extremely complex, taking into account the neurological structures and endocrine glands and their influence on personality and character.

In recent years, criminologists have held that the study and classification of delinquents ought to be based on biotypology. Thus, Benigno DiTullio in 1930 studied delinquents biotypologically. His investigations have enabled him to establish a new classification of constitutional types forming the elements of a new "Criminal Biotypology." He established the following constitutional types:

Hypoevolutes

Criminals with psychopathic constitution.

Delinquents with neuropathic constitution

Delinquents with criminal constitution of mixed type.

Dr. Solano discusses the characteristics of these types in detail. For example, the criminal psychopathic constitution as conceived by DiTullio is not one type but several—obsessive, oligophrenic, paranoid, and schizoid psychopathic constitutions. There are also mixed types. Each type is described in great detail and theories of delinquency types are based on these constitutional types. For example, DiTullio believes that instinctive criminal delinquency will be ingrained in the neuropathology of the family, in the epileptoid constitution, that prostitution is an equivalent and criminal tendencies are determined in the germ plasma.

Jose Ingenieros in 1905 made the first classification in Argentina of delinquents based on moral, intellectual and psychomotor factors, as follows:

1. *Delinquents with moral anomalies.*
2. *Delinquents with intellectual anomalies.*
3. *Delinquents with psychomotor anomalies.*

Under each of these groups there are acquired, congenital and transitory types of anomalies.

4. *Delinquents with mixed types of anomalies.*
 - (a) moral and intellectual.
 - (b) intellectual and volitional.
 - (c) affective sphere anomalies, etc.

After critically discussing the above systems of typology, the author turns to a discussion of the perverse constitution. There are two currents in Psychiatry which admit the existence of the perverse constitution. One considers that it exists in abnormal individuals with a sensible diminution of the ethical judgment. This is the concept held by the German school represented by Bleuler and Bumke who call it the perverse and amoral constitution. The English psychiatrists admit the existence of the perverse constitution as a neuropsychiatric type, the product of a complete genotype fixed in the reproductive cells at the moment of impregnation. Pinel, in France in 1819, first spoke of the perverse constitution under the names of "moral insanity" and "moral idiocy." Krafft-Ebing, Esquirol, Georget, Pritchard, Maudsley and others recognized the perverse constitution under different names. Dr. Solano discusses at length all of the different theories concerning the perverse constitution held by Nerio Rojas of Buenos Aires, Renato Kehl, Mira y Lopez, Colajanni, Gorofalo and others.

The author eventually negates most of these theories and concludes that a perverse constitution, which would imply the existence of a perverse nature, does not exist. She states that there are diverse modalities of perversity, encrusted in the

various mixed types of neuropsychiatric personality, determined by the influence of prenatal toxic infections and by the influence of the social milieu in which the individual develops.

The diverse modalities of perverse constitution can be classified as *maximum*, *median*, and *minimum*. Biotypology is the more precise technique for the appreciation of diverse modalities of perverse constitution and responsibility is established in relation to the degree of diagnosed perversity. Accepting the gradation of perversity as maximum, median or minimum, the indicated treatment in each case is directed on that basis. The Second Congress of Criminology accepted these conclusions with an affirmative vote after Dr. Solano's address.

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ABORTION AND THE LAW. IRVIN SCHUMER.
The Journal-Lancet. 62:223-224, June, 1942.

The statutes of most of our states sentence any person who performs an abortion not sanctioned by the law, to serve from one to ten years in the penitentiary. If the mother dies, he is guilty of murder in the second degree. The physician's honest belief that an abortion was imperative has been held no excuse in dozens of supreme court decisions.

The sordidness of the abortion picture in this country is appalling. It has been estimated that 1 to 3 million abortions are performed annually. More than 8000 mothers die each year because of unskilled operators and unhygienic, inadequate facilities. In Russia, where abortion is legalized and under government control, there is one death for every 20,000 operations; we have one death for every 75 abortion operations.

A recent English court decision has shown that the national point of view in

England has undergone a change. The abortion act passed 75 years ago is humanized, and a physician may now operate when he feels that the situation demands an abortion.

The abortion laws in our own states also need a re-examination. More flexibility is needed and only completely legalized abortion can untangle the mass of inhuman legislation as cited in the Colorado case where two prominent physicians refused to operate on a 12 year old girl found pregnant as a result of a criminal attack.

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TRENDS IN CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH. J. P. SHALLOO, Ph.D. *Federal Probation*, 6: 21-24, Oct.-Dec., 1942.

An attempt to evaluate the causes of crime is a comparatively recent innovation. It has only been recently that any emphasis has been placed on the importance of heredity and the understanding of man's biological constitution with its relation to his behavior. The refusal of our ancestors to accept crime as a normal condition pertaining to certain individuals made it impossible to have a scientific approach to the problem. Insofar as our predecessors were concerned, behaviorisms were the direct result of the freedom of action which was supposedly enjoyed by all persons. It was the Italian criminologist, Cesare Lombroso, who pointed out that the biological constitution of the criminal had more control over his behavior than inherited sin which was supposedly bequeathed him by Adam and Eve. It naturally followed that the acceptance of this theory would result in an individualized study of offenders.

As an answer to Lombroso, counter trends developed which placed the emphasis of criminal activity on environment. Thus it became popular to speak of crime in terms of poverty, alcohol, unemployment, etc. To this was added the psycho-

social motivations which included imitation, competition, etc. In 1917 it was concluded that feeble-mindedness was a definite cause of crime, and thus intense study was made of the Jukes family, the Kallikaks, and their deficient offspring. It was finally concluded, however, that low mentality, although it may have been important in a given case, is unimportant statistically, and thus the mentally subnormal group joined the ranks of discarded theories.

A further attempt at a definition of the causes of criminal activity proposed that crime could be defined as an escape from an intolerable situation by which the mind resolved the conflict and maintained its equilibrium and balance through criminal conduct. At the same time, sociologists and psychologists explained crime as a relationship of concepts, ideas and attitudes of a person toward a specific situation. This was an all inclusive theory which probably threw more theoretical light on the basic patterns of conduct than any other theory yet formulated. However, our present analysis of delinquency is strongly reflected by emotional insecurity on the part of the individual, and the desire to eliminate inadequacy in relation to other persons, and the seeking of emotional satisfaction and security through delinquency.

With the advent of psychoanalysis and diagnostic understanding of behavior problems, an attempt was made to find the basic motivation of both criminal and non-criminal conduct. To date, child guidance clinics have applied techniques such as play analysis, psychodramatic and psychodiagnostic methods such as a Rorschach test, in an effort to solve the quest for human motivation. The author suggests that the sociologist, together with the psychiatrist could blend their activities into a general sociopsychiatric approach which would delve deeply into the causation of criminal activity.

Quite recently culture conflicts have been studied in an effort to show the relationship between social disorganization and crime. They have tried to identify certain regions as criminal and have these regions tend to stabilize themselves at the criminal level. It has yet to be proved, however, that there is a causal relationship between culture conflicts and delinquency

rates. Too many undiscovered and undiscoverable variables leave this open to serious question from the standpoint of scientific adequacy. However, these researches have a dramatic appeal for those interested in social reform.

Such an article as this cannot be concluded without mention of the relationship between glandular dysfunction and crime. Research in the field of hormones and endocrinology will undoubtedly produce fertile trends of thought, but at present such information as is available for understanding crime causation is vague and not too well founded. It must therefore be considered spade work only. Doctor Shalloo wisely points out that the real problem is not how we may understand the separate aspects of personality and their problems, but rather how to take the findings of specialists, give them their proper weight, and finally integrate the suggestions and findings of these specialists so that a total picture devoid of shadows can be visualized. Only the closest cooperation between all specialists can bring about this successful conclusion.

William G. Rose,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

PATRICIDE, INCONSCIENCE THROUGH VIOLENT PATHOLOGICAL EMOTION. JOSE BELBY AND ALBERTO BONHOUR. *Archivos de Medicina Legal, Argentina*. 12:96-104, Jan.-April 1942.

The authors, both professors of clinical psychiatry and Legal Medicine, were designated by the Judge of the Criminal Court of LaPlata to examine a young girl who committed patricide, in order to appraise the Court of her physical and mental condition. Drs. Belby and Bonhour published the findings in the case because of its peculiar interest to the psychiatric profession. This work was not limited to a study of the combination of individual and group factors which had converged in the development of the crime, but they ex-

tended their investigation to a complete personality study of the offender, observing her physical and mental conditions and her life history. The drama of the case is not surprising after one reads the analysis. The girl had not only committed homicide in 1940 but had attempted suicide in 1938.

The authors describe the girl as 21 years of age. She was suffering from chronic intestinal difficulty, had a poor appetite, her speech was suboral, her eyes were bulging, her thyroid gland was larger than normal. From the further description of the physical findings, it was apparent that the hyperexcitability of her nervous system resulted from her hyperemotional constitution. The basic psychopathology of that constitution consisted in a disequilibrium of the vegetative nervous system and in hyperthyroidism.

The authors investigated the disequilibrium of the vegetative (autonomic, involuntary) nervous system by several methods. They present the results of administration of adrenalin, pilocarpine and atropine in various doses. They also made a reflex examination. All these methods confirm what they call, "the distonia of the sympathetic system" and a "notable instability of the tonus in the organs and devices under the control of the autonomic nerves, with a particular aptitude for reacting in a violent and excessive manner to all stimulants administered."

The intelligence of the subject, in which the authors include the functions of attention, perception and memory, was normal. The associations, critical reasoning and judgment were not particularly atypical. She possessed common skills acquired in school. Her language was correct and she expressed herself with facility except when inhibited by her emotional character.

Since she had been in jail, her conduct had been good and all her acts had been adjusted to the normal requirements of the discipline of the establishment. Her conduct prior to her crime had always been most correct according to all the people who knew her. Her unmistakable affection which she felt towards her mother and the lack of hate towards the father

in spite of the latter's actions, revealed her as a person of noble sentiments. The authors had the opportunity of observing her in the prison when her friends and family came to visit her and they saw the pleasure with which she received them and the affection she showed towards the mother and brothers.

The authors describe the victim of the crime as a dangerous psychopath, epileptic, who earned the hate of his wife and children whom he mistreated and threatened with death. He was the father of the accused. His maniac tendencies were verified by psychiatrists and neurologists who had examined him in the past.

In an analysis of the testimony of witnesses, all without exception said that the victim was the only causative agent of the situation.

E. A. P., a brother, said "that the father was of violent temperament and rascible and that he constantly mistreated the mother and that he maltreated the sisters O. and A., frequently threatening to kill them and the mother." A.L.P., J.L.P., and the wife of the victim all confirm these statements. The wife said he had marital relations with other women and treated her shabbily in all ways.

The authors describe the homicide in great detail giving the exact circumstances of the crime. It was committed in a fit of violent pathological emotion on the part of the girl provoked by the actions of the father. There were no witnesses since the victim and the girl were alone when it happened. A younger sister was in the house at the time but at the moment of the crime she was taking refuge in the kitchen because the father had struck her brutally when she refused to go to call

the mother who was sick in bed in a son's house. The girl, immediately after the deed, when examined by the police doctor, was "in a state of pronounced violent emotion, lacking lucidity and incoherent in her responses." She had a complete amnesia following the crime. She had killed her father by use of an axe but did not remember these details.

The authors present a complete analysis of the case, taking into account the personality of the victim and the offenses and the circumstances of the crime. They reach the following conclusions:

1. The defendant is not psychotic.
2. She suffers from a disequilibrium of the sympathetic system which makes her susceptible to violent emotional reactions which can be considered of a pathological character.
3. The crime was committed in one of these emotional states provoked by the terror under the threat by the father of death to the mother.
4. The lacunar amnesia which followed later and the resulting fugue, can be considered an example of what Krafft-Ebing graphically called "inconsience."

This article is interesting because it illustrates the thoroughness and completeness with which a psychiatric study was made in a court case and the form of its presentation to the Court. It might well be adopted as a procedure for psychiatric diagnosis in the courts of the U. S. in cases of this nature. The psychiatric evidence was probably one of the deciding factors in the judicial decision in this case.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

Clinical Reports

REPORT OF THE BEHAVIOR CLINIC OF QUARTER SESSIONS COURT OF THE COUNTY OF ALLEGHENY, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA.
September 1, 1941 to August 31, 1942.

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This report is a truly statistical report compiled by the Behavior Clinic of Quar-

ter Sessions Court of the County of Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, covering the period between September 1st, 1941 and August 31st, 1942. Although a large number of men have been removed from the community which the clinic serves by induction in the Armed Forces, the case load has decreased only 8% from previous

years, so that its findings can be considered authoritative. During this period 456 cases were referred and examined, 414 being male and 42 being female. Of this 456, 388 were white and 68 were black.

The clinic is a closely knit organization, in which the psychiatrist, the psychologist and psychiatric social worker pool their information and arrive at conclusions concerning the behavior of the offender. These cases are referred to the clinic primarily by the courts in order that the Judge may be aided in his disposition of the case. A table has been prepared showing a tabulation of charges by type of offense which reflects that those offenses most frequent are sex offenses which are committed by native white males. Offenses against property rank second, while offenses against person (not sex) follow closely behind. In breaking down the sex charges it is shown that of 224 sex charges against all persons, public indecency is the most frequent, followed by indecent assault and attempts to ravish. Sodomy and rape rank equal.

Thirty-three per cent of the cases were first offenders, and it is pointed out that this group, particularly the younger offenders, presents the most hopeful outlook for rehabilitation. Closely associated with studies made on similar subjects in allied or related fields is the finding that parents of offenders were primarily native born. Of the 456 cases studied, 295 were of native born parents and 139 were of foreign born parents. One hundred eighty of the men were single, and 136 married; 16 were single women and 14 married women. Divorces, separations and deaths accounted for 93 of the remaining male cases. As is to be expected, the greater number of offenders were between the ages of 21 to 45, the age group of 21 to 25 accounting for 55 individuals, and the age group from 41 to 45, 20 individuals. Forty-seven cases, or 10.3% of the cases studied were under 21 years of age. Out of the entire group, only 3 were college graduates; 7 had had some college work. Twenty-six had graduated from high school, and the remainder distributed from the illiterate class to the eighth grade; 79 were considered barely literate.

Regarding the use of alcohol, 110 denied drinking, and there was no evidence

of it recorded; 346 admitted drinking in various stages from moderation to habitual drunkenness and alcoholic psychosis; 234 are recorded as drinking but having no evidence of maladjustment as a result.

It is extremely interesting to note that under present economic conditions when employment is considered to be quite plentiful, 38.8% of the offenders examined were without any type of gainful employment at the time of arrest, which is an increase of 2.8% over the same period last year. Thirty-nine per cent of the cases, or a total of 79 revealed some psychopathology or psychological manifestations of sufficient degree that they could not be considered normal. Of these, 116 were definitely psychotic, 33 considered to have psychopathic personality, 19 mentally deficient, 9 psychoneurotic, and 2 having epilepsy without psychosis.

This study is interesting inasmuch as it graphically pictures what is being done and what has been done by a professional Behavior Clinic which is well equipped with skilled personnel to promote individualized treatment. The findings thus arrived at are used to provide scientific approaches toward the individual delinquent who appears before the bar of justice. With such factual information at their command, the judges are able to prescribe a sensible plan of incarceration which will result in a definite reduction of recidivism, since the source of the antisocial behavior can be found and the institutional program geared to treat and correct rather than punish.

William G. Rose,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION IN THE NEW YORK CITY PENAL INSTITUTIONALS. Report of the Bureau of Education, Recreation and Libraries, 1942 - '40. NORMAN M. STONE AND HERMAN K. SPECTOR, 103 pp. mimeo.

Dr. Peter F. Amoroso, Commissioner of Correction, of New York, in the foreword to this report, points out that this is the first publicized report of the

educational activities of the New York City penal institutions as well as the birth of the Bureau of Education, Recreation and Libraries in the Department. Further, he indicates that a well-organized educational program in short-time institutions has been held to be an impossibility by many leading penologists; this report does not prove this premise false but it is hoped that over a period of years it will be proven so. The municipal Department of Correction is nominally under the supervision of the New York State Department of Correction whose lead in correctional education the former is emulating.

This report covers the program of education, recreation and libraries in the twelve institutions in the city. The Bureau of Education was established in December 1941, and was located on the fourteenth floor of the new Criminal Courts Building. In this Bureau all matters of education, recreation, libraries, in service training, and related matters are centralized. The Acting Director of Education and Recreation at the Rikers Island Penitentiary was designated as the Acting Director for the entire department and the Supervising Librarian of the Penitentiary was directed to extend his work into the libraries of all institutions.

The inmate population is more heterogeneous than that received by any other department of correction in the country. Sentences range from 5 days or less to 6 months to one year. Workhouse, penitentiary, and reformatory sentences are doled out by the courts. The average workhouse sentence is 39 days, while the average penitentiary sentence is 215 days. Male inmates are approximately ten times as numerous as the female. The objectives of the educational program vary. The penitentiary educational aims are the "mental, social, physical, and economic adjustment of the individual inmate to normal living in free society." The reformatory educational objectives take into account the development of basic patterns of adult behavior and attitudes of individual responsibilities. Leisure time activities are emphasized in the workhouse group.

Detailed reports are given on the educational work in the twelve institutions. The status of the program and its general

direction for the future are covered. The Appendix includes reports on: field libraries, a list of personnel, recreational and educational curriculum offerings, lectures and speakers in the in-service training courses, and numerous charts and graphs on organization, library services, and academic and vocational offerings.

The report is written in a lucid manner. Its authors have summarized the essence of the program of education in short-time institutions as well as offering worth-while suggestions for its future. That they have been able to accomplish as much as they have speaks for the leadership they are affording the program, and the sympathetic cooperation of the Commissioner of Correction of New York City. Other short-time institutions which may be interested in setting up an educational program will find much assistance in this report to aid as a guide.

Chester D. Owens,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

GUIDE BOOK. 1943-1944. National Training School for Boys, Washington, D. C.

This booklet, issued primarily for the use of the boys in the National Training School, is attractively bound and of pocket-size so that it can be carried about easily. The excellent illustrations and general format undoubtedly will have much to do in impelling the boys to retain the Guide Book for constant use. The compilers of the Guide Book have wisely refrained from laying down a list of regulations but have introduced material of interest to the average boy covering topics such as sport records, baseball and football championships, handy calendars for 1943 and 1944, etc. A surprising amount of information concerning the Institution is unobtrusively introduced and one may read between the lines that the program of rehabilitation for these boys is exceedingly high in caliber and is related strong-

ly to community interests outside the institution in preparation for the return of the boys to their former environment. One learns with interest of the excellent professional staff for classification and assignment, of the rehabilitation programs, of the exceptional opportunities offered by Washington itself in the matter of enlarging

the outside interests of the boys, particularly along the lines of citizenship, the excellent recreation program devised for them, etc. The Guide Book itself being a first edition is surprisingly suited for the particular task it has at hand.

V. C. R.

Book Reviews

Negro Youth at the Crossways. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Ph.D. 301 Pages, \$2.25. American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1940.

The American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education has surveyed the problems of Negro youth as one of their major projects. Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, head of the Department of Sociology, Howard University, has undertaken the task of investigation relating to the forces at work, in determining the attitudes of Negro youth to the problems facing them today. Purely from the standpoint of a research essay, the task was a difficult one. Its theme is a scientific evaluation of the Negro youth in the lower, middle and upper class strata in Negro society in the border states. The purpose of this book is to advance an understanding of the negro people and their problems. The attempt is to systematically dissect the stratification of the negro group in its relation to the surrounding white dominated society. The discussion following is cognizant of the difficulties inherent in a research as encompassing as "Negro Youth at the Crossways." The volume attacks the problem from a purely sociological standpoint. In the appendix, the view of the social psychologist, is also presented. Two of the border states are singled out for extensive study, Washington, D. C., and Louisville, Kentucky, with but casual mention of the other similar states. The historical perspective is discussed as an introduction to the topic. An understanding of the factor multiplicity, as determinants in the problems and status of negro youth, is apparent in the work. Dr. Frazier completely refutes the theory of biological determination in developing negro behavior, which has held sway as a bastion fostering the attitude of racial superiority. The strongest point of the study and the most successfully presented thesis, refers to the above statement of refutation.

The development of each topic is completely taken, with ample illustrations, made up of direct quotations, derived

from conversations with various individuals on different social levels. Two relatively complete case studies of "typical" negro youths are also presented. No question can be raised concerning the sincerity of purpose displayed by the author, publisher, and American Youth Commission. However, notwithstanding the author's good intentions, there occurs to the reader a certain lack of understanding and recognition of the new factors at work in the negro community. Because there are these new forces at work and the negro community is changing, the book must be studied in the light of these new forces. Even before 1940, the date of publication, large, new, dynamic, penetrating social forces were and still are at work, and these give good promise of reorienting and changing the structures and attitudes that were dominant in 1940. What these forces are and how they are affecting the community may be found in any of several negro publications. Mention will be made in this review of these new social factors in relation to the material presented in the book.

The subject matter obviously portrays, but the author does not formulate, or denote, the border states as representing a transition area and is in itself a contradiction. Here the negro is allowed greater freedom than in the south but less freedom than in the north. The black man seems to be suspended between the two areas and is not accepted in either one as a full fledged member. If one may coin a phrase, the surrounding social environment as encountered by the negro in the border states, is schizophrenic in its group personality. A dual structure regulating methods of behavior and restricting social contacts to the color of the group. This view is not sufficiently developed as a possible factor in producing individual personality types.

The division of classes, in negro society, is one based upon an economic factor determinant. The upper and middle classes being economically more independent than the lower class, but equally restricted in their out of color contacts. In-

valuable is the portrait drawn of the upper classes. A social climbing snobbery is evidenced, escapist attitudes toward problems of status, refusal to identify themselves with the lower groups although a unity of group interests exists, all are descriptive of this particular group. Here the premium is put upon light color. Two reasons are given for this alignment. One, the possibility of passing as a white, an escapist attitude, is always present; two, there is an historical precedent based upon the intermarriage between whites and negroes when the first freed slaves came to Washington before the end of the Civil War. The middle class resents the snobbish superiority of the upper group, while it looks down upon and lords it over the lower strata. This does prevent them from cooperating with the lowest order. However, a constant struggle to achieve upper class status is always present in this middle group. Alas because of the prevalence of dark color most of them will never achieve their goal. To all this, there is but one statement to add and/or one criticism to level. The author does not give full recognition to the new, dynamic social forces rising within each group of negro society. The new leaders of negro society are from all economic strata, and there is a high degree of cooperation among them. Two organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and the National Negro Congress, one a conservative and one a progressive, cooperate when the need arises. However, they do not pull against each other. These rising forces within the negro population cut across all class lines, and work toward unity. The new alignments will be based upon those who are culturally and socially enlightened and whose doors are opened to all, and those who are escapist and wish to remain in the old form of social stratification.

Only major points can be reviewed in a limited discussion. Therefore most portions of the book, minor in nature, must be mentioned casually.

Throughout the book accurate accounts of the housing, school, church, and entertainment facilities, open to the negro, are well presented. With rare exception, the personal statements of individual negro youths are a complete iteration of insult,

humiliation, disillusionment and personal restrictions addressed against them. Aggressiveness and resentment against these pressures are bound to follow. The attitudes of the white to the negro is demonstrated through the experiences of the individuals questioned. Throughout all the conversations, one element is common to all, although the realization of this element as an overall picture has not been crystallized in their minds. The author does not seem to be cognizant of this element at all. Resolved, this factor can be stated as follows: through the benevolence of individual whites, cast off and second hand clothes are offered to the negro; cast off or second hand entertainment centers; cast off or second hand schools are opened to colored students; and last but not least, the essence of all this, the negro is given second hand freedom.

The church is presented from the eyes of the negro youth. The escapist attitude and their inability to aid the negro in solving problems realistically, poses a contradiction to negro youth, and results in a cynical attitude toward the church. This is true enough as the author presents the fact. However, again, no statement is forthcoming from the author to denote the changes occurring within the negro church, predating the writing of the book. Men of the colored churches are now increasingly and enthusiastically entering the struggle against the obstacles facing the negro people, and are also setting up and leading organizations for the purpose of integrating the black folks' problems with the problems of all peoples. In other words, here is a breakdown in the existing attitudes that consider negro problems as isolated phenomena unconnected to basic problems facing the whites. The colored people are becoming increasingly interested in fighting not only color discrimination, but all forms of discrimination. No reference is made of the effect labor unions has on the negro, no mention is made of the rising literature among these people, and their cultural contributions. Occasionally inconsistencies occur. For example, the author attempts to show the vast difference existing between the colored middle class and the white groups of similar status. Yet constant reference is made to the attitudes of this class of

negroes, as a reflection of the middle class historical outlook. If this is so, then the negro middle class have the same likes and dislikes, characteristics and alignments of the whites in the same social group. The exception to this occurs when color persecution is present.

An occasional disdainful attitude is evidenced, mainly in the appendix section of the book. One particular statement denotes this attitude. In describing a negro place of entertainment reference is made to the patrons as a group of "newly emancipated peasants." This may, however, have been accidental since the general tenor of the book is sympathetic, though slightly condescending, in its treatment of the subject. Much of value is presented in the material concerning the individual to family to group relationships.

Not to include a very important section of the volume would be an injustice. This portion deals with the viewpoint of the psychologist, which regards the negro as a functioning relation to his society. The most important thesis deals with the new orientation, on the part of Psychiatrists and Psychologists, toward negro behavior. These workers are now realizing that colored peoples' behavior manifestations are not due to some inherent, mystical negroid quality inferior to the white, but due to all the social forces acting upon the individual. The aggressions, antagonisms, surliness, humiliations, and clownishness are social artifacts produced by an unfriendly environment. To illustrate: Many negro fathers get along with their white associates by acting the clown, or as they put it "acting monkey." They advise their sons to "act monkey" to enable them to get what they are after, or to live on good terms with white employers and employees. Therefore it is obvious, although no comment is made by the author on this matter, that clownishness is not inherent in the negro, but is a consciously developed behavior pattern to be used in certain situations, so that benefit can be derived. In fact one statement made by a colored boy showed that he can turn on or off the "acting monkey" according to the time and place, and that he felt disgusted with himself every time he had to resort to this means of maintaining peaceful relations with whites.

This book has great value since it does help develop a better understanding of the negro and some of his problems. Although a great deal of material is presented, no conclusions are drawn by the author, yet the implications inherent in the material are obvious. Some very significant material is presented which will be valuable to the student interested in the negro problem. The new views of the psychologist, and the changing attitudes, on their part, toward negro behavior, is an important contribution compiled and presented by this volume. Later works of this kind will probably be more cognizant of the new forces at work and draw out of the material conclusions and crystallizations of thought which will clarify in the readers' mind the problems of the negro, their origin and development.

Leonard L. Press,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas.

CLIFFORD R. SHAW AND HENRY D. MCKAY. University of Chicago Press. September, 1942, 446 pps.

This book is primarily a statistical study, representing a great deal of time and effort in research work which delves into the geography of crime in 21 major cities in the United States. The study has been in progress for 20 years and includes the cases of many thousand juvenile delinquents, which indicates the magnitude and efficiency of its preparation.

The cities studied are not arbitrarily selected from any one particular section of the country but extend from ocean to ocean and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. The results obtained, therefore, can be regarded as quite conclusive evidence of authenticity, namely that the distribution of juvenile delinquents in time and space follows the patterns of the physical structure and social organization of the American City.

Each city is broken down into various zones determined by business, industrial and residential areas. In one particular city,

Chicago, after a minute analysis of delinquency, it was found that offenses of the type serious enough to appear in juvenile court was concentrated in certain of the most disorganized parts of the city, gradually thinning out until it was almost eliminated in the better residential districts. In this, the particularistic explanation of crime is definably refuted, and it is shown that juvenile delinquency is highly correlated with a number of presumably separate factors, namely population change, poor housing, poverty, foreign born and negroes, mental disorders, adult crime and tuberculosis.

Over one hundred and seven illustrations, coupled with one hundred and eighteen tables, graphically portray to the reader the pictorial objects of this study. The reader can easily observe the striking similarities of the cities studied by this illustrative material.

It is pointed out that the correlation of juvenile delinquency is so high with each of the aforementioned factors that if any particular one were studied separately from the others it could easily be considered the chief factor in juvenile delinquency. It therefore follows that all of these factors, including delinquency, may be considered manifestations of some general basic factor. This common element is social disorganization and the lack on the part of the community to deal with conditions bringing about this social disorganization. Since juvenile delinquency follows a pattern of the physical and social structure of the city as shown by the authors, the basic solution of this problem as well as other problems of city life lies in extensive physical rehabilitation of slum areas and the development of community organization.

Neighborhoods in the low income areas of the 21 cities studied conclusively show that there are many obstacles to neighborhood unity. These are primarily the layout of the streets, the interspersing of business, industry and residents with one another, and the definite lack of playgrounds and recreation centers for children and adults alike.

A partial solution includes a routing of traffic around the housing area to safeguard its residential character, the location of business not in, but near the area.

establishment of a small park or playground around which is located the school, church and community center. Such physical structure favors neighborhood organization but does not necessarily insure it. Conscious planning in addition is necessary. If juvenile delinquency is the result of neighborhood disorganization, then only a program of neighborhood organization can cope and control it. There can be no substitute such as the probation officer, the parole officer, or the boys' club. Delinquency must be thought of in terms of the community and less in terms of the individual. The source of delinquency must be eliminated and control exercised in its province since prisons, reformatories, boys and girls schools and work camps will never adequately meet the problem and are from the start doomed to failure.

In view of the decided increase in juvenile delinquency because of the war, this book makes excellent reading for the social worker, parole officer, social scientist and other individuals interested in this rising problem. The common element of delinquency is social disorganization, according to the co-authors, and the lack of corrective machinery in the community to deal with it. This study provides the problem and it is up to society to find measures and means of overcoming it.

William G. Rose,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

Thoughts of a Psychiatrist on the War and After. WILLIAM A. WHITE, M.D., New York. Paul B. Hoeber, pp. 28 (reprinted) 1942.

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The dismay of the average scientist when confronted with tremendous mental forces that no known invention of science can control, and which the discoveries of science may have actually elaborated or released, are nicely illustrated in this timely thesis by a benevolent thinker, and now for the first time, republished after 20 years. The resolution, distinction and courage that marks its eloquent text is matched by a fine insight into the moral issues in-

volved and the significance of the personal conflict in the higher tragedy. Nowhere does White permit himself a note of concern or despair, and in seven all-too-brief chapters surveys the impasse for the individual and the group, within the mellowed wisdom of a practical humanist. If he remains singularly uninfluenced and unimpressed with the contemporary contributions of other thinkers similarly disturbed by events, the reason may be the uniqueness and objectivity of his outlook which refuses to permit itself to be lost in serene speculation.

But the work makes uncomfortable reading, bearing in mind the burden and implication of these crises of the spirit, that man is periodically called upon to assume and with which this book deals, both from the relative inadequacy of the philosophy offered to counter it, and from the pedestrian, rather long-winded style which it affects. The quotation from E. Jones (p. 15) comes like a breath of pure air by contrast. If the content lacks the subtlety of Freud in recognition of the fundamental dynamics of human conflict, and is too 'dated' to be influenced by the wealth of latter day analytic contribution (particularly Glover's), it does preserve something of the stolid viewpoint of the period, that made its author a forerunner and advance guard of so much that is now commonplace in social psychiatry.

It would be idle to expect of any psychiatrist the profounder intuitions of, say Tolstoy, in his "War and Peace," despite the latter's sadism and paranoid perspective, yet armchair thoughts of the scientist might be assumed to take color from other literary apprehensions. The essay on the aftermath of war (Ch. VIII) is frankly disappointing.

From the very start, White emphasizes his belief that the forces of charity and benevolence alone should hold sway over the primitive passions of men, and that love must triumph in a sensate world. Society's problem is so vast that we are blind to it. Warring men are comparable to fractious children, and the infinite care we devote to the one should be extended to the other. The deep purposes of nature are best served in securing its own immortality, and the upshot of all conflict is the ultimate redistribution of its con-

trary forces through some temporary solution is secured by a redistribution of stresses in the fabric of the body politic.

White seeks for the causes of conflict in the basic psychology of interpersonal relationships, where man is at variance with the fold; though he is at pains to emphasize that the very process of individual malintegration or instinctual conflict may influence social behavior, and the fuller life in its social setting, on the well-known laws and mechanisms of unconscious functioning, chief among these being ambivalence and projection. This capacity for projections and for symbolization of our inner conflicts, i. e. that "between our ideals and our own instinctive tendencies" is best illustrated "in the criminal and society." The level of an evolved society is the threshold of its benevolence.

He sees in the cultural setting the opportunities for a vigorous integration or a demoralising opportunism, token of more regressive forces that peace or war alike revive; it is the return of the repressed. In his chapter on the psychological causes of war, in many ways the pithiest in his thesis, he elaborates five main reasons for the nihilatory effects recognized, and for the savage forces thus uncovered, forces in which fear and hate, cowardice and selfishness play their part; though he is careful to add that the highest impulses of personal disinterest appear, such as astounding courage and superlative heroism, in which the man and the herd rise above themselves. Thus the phenomenon of *dedifferentiation* involves our using the superstructure of outspent loyalties for an edifice of new intents, after some effectual abreaction of bottled feelings, some escape mechanism, individual rebellion or group disintegration have done their worst. The nice "balance of power" in Europe, of international adjustments once established by artifice and compromise, becomes under war conditions unworkable. "The whole house of cards collapses" (which is not what actually occurs). He detects a reversion from a state of high-grade personal initiative to the depths of a paternalistic communist state. He finds G. Stanley Hall conforms with views on "values bought at the price of death," wherein love and the supreme negation (death) become one. The sturdy indi-

vidualist in White stands out in his treatment of the problem of "Individualism versus Socialism." He can see only good in man, given opportunity to repress the undesirable within himself, so as to integrate and mobilize his best mental potentialities, for "hate makes little men;" while to pool his resources is to give strength and courage to the whole. He foresees that that society which still exploits its enemies, exacts reprisals or suffers self-righteousness as well as those *monarchies based upon the fiction of divine authority*, are but immature forms of government, and maintains optimistically that a wise paternal attitude (as to an erring child) should ever suggest a healthier alternative. He suggests in effect that our entire reaction to the foe of yesterday must be actuated by the highest intents, by sheer sublimation and capacity for altruism, at the peace table and for a long while afterwards; that a league of religions, as of nations, must play a part; for private Hate and unrestrained repressive force cannot be allowed to endure for all time, in a society that to him signifies at once the "necessary subordination of the individual to the group," yet with the "greatest possible opportunity for *individual expression*." In this lies nationalism's ambivalence.

White discovers obvious faults in the tempered metal that is our forged Democracy, in his chapter "*Some tendencies quickened by war*." He analyses those impulses and movements which are usually facilitated by War's stepped up services and quickened by governmental efficiency, with respect to purely socio-economic changes brought about, changes long overdue, which might utilize man's very inequalities to his own best advantage, see injustices remedied, and unconventional views streamlined, till out of the very "*repression of income by taxation*" some virtue is distilled. He attributes this change to the democratic sentiment inculcated under war conditions and indulged through close contact with one's fellows, with its resulting wiping-out of all mistrust, prejudice and marks of distinction, welding men into a more constructive lasting unity.

The impression left is of a mind sadly uninspired by current events with a rather academic je june interest in the possibility of man's eventual redemption.

True he lacks the sense of pessimism or cynicism, escapism or mysticism engendered in some other of his contemporaries, our leading psychiatrists, we must be grateful for his forensic excursion.

P. L. Goitein, M. D.,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

Lie Detection and Criminal Interrogation.

FRED E. INGAU. Williams and Wilkins Co., Baltimore. 1942. 142 pp.

This work is written primarily from the point of view of the law enforcement officer but it has considerable value for psychologists, penologists, psychiatrists, teachers, and members of the legal profession. For the first time, there is brought together, within the compass of a single small volume, much of the mass of practical knowledge and information concerning the "lie detector," its theoretical basis, its method of operation, and its application to the solution of the problems of the criminal interrogator and of the crimes he investigates. This is supplemented by a discussion of the other tactics and techniques available to the law enforcement officer, thus dividing the book into two parts.

The author has a healthy point of view in that he is frank to point out the limitations and dangers in the "lie detector" technique and the fact that its admissibility as legal evidence in a court of law must await further research and refinement of the technique. His stress is on the value of the method as a means of obtaining confessions and helping to solve crimes to which solutions would otherwise be impossible.

The two parts of the book have little relation to each other except as methods of criminal interrogation. The first part, *The Lie Detector Technique*, is an illustrated discussion of the methods used in the detection of deception from recordings of physiological phenomena such as changes in blood pressure, pulse, respiration, and electrodermal responses. The Kceeler polygraph is the type of "lie de-

rector" upon which the author bases most of his discussion.

The second part, *Criminal Interrogation*, consists of a discussion of various tactics and techniques which may be used by a law enforcement officer for the purpose of eliciting confessions or other helpful information. Each part is supplemented with a treatment of the legal aspects of the subject matter.

The *psychosomatic* approach, which attempts to link up particular emotions with bodily reactions and physical change, finds practical application in the so-called lie detector technique. While the author of the book under review does not trace the theoretical roots of the lie detector technique to the experimental physiologists and psychologists who made contributions to psychosomatic theory, he does present clearly and concisely with ample documentation and illustration from case records, a practical application of this approach.

The experimental evidence for bodily changes in emotion has long been part of the literature and text books of experimental psychology. A good deal of this evidence has been contributed by Cannon, and is reported in his book, "Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear, and Rage." Pavlov demonstrated for animals, and Cannon for animals and human beings, that both the salivary secretion and the gastric secretion are altered by emotional stimulation of the subject. Brunswick studied the tonus of the stomach, duodenum, and rectum under emotional stimulation. Experimental psychologists have used electrocardiograph records (Blatz), blood chemistry (Cannon), pneumograph (Blatz), metabolic rate (Totten), etc., as measures of emotional states.

A method was devised by Erlanger for obtaining a continuous Kymographic record of the rises and falls in blood pressure, which is a considerable improvement on the clinical sphygmomanometer. It is this, the blood pressure method of detecting emotions which was adapted and widely used in connection with the first so-called "lie detectors." The technique was later broadened to include changes in pulse, respiration, and electrodermal responses.

Mr. Ingbau, former director of the

Chicago Police Scientific Crime Detection Laboratory, and a member of the Chicago Bar, has not included the pioneer work of these men and others in his pages on the historical development of the lie detector technique. He traces the beginnings of the technique to the work of Cesare Lombroso (1895) and of William Moulton Marston (1915) who started research on blood pressure changes as symptoms of deception. The author then outlines the steps in the development and refinement of the technique to its culmination in the Keeler Polygraph developed by Leonarde Keeler in 1926 and the Berkeley Psychograph, a blood pressure-pulse-respiration recorder developed in 1936 by C. D. Lee.

The author gives an excellent description of the instrument itself illustrated with two actual photographs of the Keeler Polygraph. There follows actual protocols obtained from the instrument with an adequate key, in the form of a diagrammatic sketch, for the interpretation of the kymographic records which would enable the reader, within a few minutes to be able to follow the text and case illustrations with ease. The author's clarity in presentation and explanation is to be admired. His minute description of test procedure can serve as a manual for the administration of lie detector tests.

In order to aid in diagnosis of deception and to increase the scientific accuracy of the technique, Ingbau suggests the use of the "Card Control Test." The subject's actual record when questioned about the crime can then be compared with the "Card Control Test" and the atypicality of his responses noted. Another method of improving the diagnostic value and scientific accuracy of the procedure is the use of the "peak of tension" test in which only one of the questions asked has any bearing upon the matter under investigation. The lie detector record can then be examined for the evidence of a "peak of tension" when this question was asked.

In general, there are two types of lie-detector tests—one, the "relevant-irrelevant question" test which involves the asking of a number of questions pertaining to the offense under investigation, along with several control questions of an irrelevant nature; and the other, the "peak of tension" test, which consists essentially of the

asking of only one pertinent question among a number of irrelevant ones.

The most reliable and definite indication of deception to be found in a "relevant-irrelevant question" test record is the simultaneous occurrence of a *suppression in respiration* and an *increase in blood pressure* immediately after the subject answers a relevant question asked by the examiner. To be significant, however, the response must constitute a *deviation* from the subject's norm which is established during that part of the record when irrelevant questions or no questions are being asked. Such a deviation is called a "specific response" by the author.

According to Ingbau, deception may also be indicated by a specific response in *either* blood pressure or respiration and this is the more usual occurrence. He does not clarify why it should occur in one and not the other nor does he explain why in certain instances deception may be indicated by a *decrease* instead of an *increase* in blood pressure. Here is a fruitful field for further research. Does the instinctually repressed person react by a decrease in blood pressure or vice versa?

Of great interest to psychologists and psychiatrists is the author's discussion of the factors affecting test results. He frankly enumerates the causes of the chief difficulties in the lie-detector method of diagnosing deception.

Among these factors are emotional tension experienced by a subject who is innocent and telling the truth regarding the offense in question but who is nevertheless affected by fear induced by the mere fact that suspicion or accusation has been directed against him or by a guilt complex involving another offense of which he is guilty. Then, too, physiological abnormalities such as excessively high or low blood pressure, diseases of the heart, and respiratory disorders may affect the results. Also, mental abnormalities such as feeble-mindedness, psychoses, psychoneuroses, and psychopathia influence adversely the interpretation of the lie-detector record. However, of greatest importance, is the existence of *unresponsiveness* in a lying or guilty subject because of lack of fear of detection, ability to control responses by means of certain mental sets or attitudes, a condition of "sub-

shock" or "adrenal exhaustion" at the time of the test, or rationalization of the crime in advance of the test to such an extent that lying about the offense arouses little or no emotional responses.

Most of these objections and difficulties are successfully answered and solved by Ingbau. For example, the physiological changes or disturbances induced by nervousness appear on the lie-detector record without relationship to any particular question or questions. As for physiological and mental abnormalities, he argues that if they are sufficiently serious to materially affect the results of the test, they are usually recognizable as such either in the type of recording they produce or else in the appearance and demeanor of the person being tested. Ingbau's concrete examples are most convincing.

It is in the sphere of mental factors that the lie detector technique cannot be fully applied successfully. Ingbau himself points this out. Since the method is predicated upon the theory that deception criteria appear in a record because of the emotional disturbances resulting from the subject's consciousness of lying and his fear of detection, it is obvious that a person of inferior intelligence (who may be unable to distinguish properly between truths and falsehoods, or to understand the moral obligation for truth-telling and lawful behavior, or to have any fear of detection) is not a fit subject for a test of this nature. Ingbau, therefore, does not recommend the technique for the feeble-minded if they can be recognized as such beforehand. The moron group because of their proximity to the normals are often difficult to weed out by an examiner without the aid of a psychologist.

According to the author, and this reviewer is inclined to agree with him, with the lie-detector it is possible to detect deception with much greater accuracy than is otherwise attainable. However confirmatory or contradictory evidence is not always forthcoming after a deception diagnosis has been made in an actual case so that exact figures are unavailable as to the accuracy of lie-detector results. Ingbau, taking his cue from the Scientific Crime Detection Laboratory of Chicago, accords to the lie-detector technique an accuracy of about seventy percent. He does not

explain how this figure was arrived at. He states that in the examination of a hundred subjects, the examiner can make a definite and accurate deception diagnosis on about seventy. Of the remaining thirty subjects, about twenty will be too indefinite in their response to diagnose and ten would constitute the margin of actual error. In other words, in 10% of his cases even the most experienced examiner is apt to make a definitely erroneous diagnosis. This estimate of accuracy of the technique by Ingbau contrasts with the wild claims of others who insist that there is a 97% or even 100% accuracy.

It is interesting to note that the author states that to qualify as an examiner with this technique, one should have a background of psychology and physiology although he need not be either a physician or an expert psychologist.

In the book's discussion of the legal status of lie-detector test results, there is a consideration of its present status, what its future status should be, and the legal status of confessions, admissions, and other evidence obtained by the use of the instrument. This section makes interesting reading and is well documented with references to actual court cases.

In Part II the principles, methods and procedures of criminal interrogation are outlined in detail. This part is mainly of interest to the average police interrogator who does not have the aid of the lie detector. The author stresses privacy, cooperation among investigators, use of a suitable room and the proper attitude and conduct of the interrogator. He makes a special effort to minimize theoretical considerations and to concentrate on the practical aspects of the interrogator's problems. His detailed discussion of specific techniques shows a good common sense knowledge of human psychology. The chapter on the law concerning criminal interrogations is again replete with references to actual court cases. Particularly useful is the part dealing with the admissibility of a confession and what methods are permissible in getting one.

To summarize, it is felt that Mr. Ingbau is to be congratulated for presenting a book in which he gives a practical evaluation of the lie detector technique and other methods of criminal interrogation.

Its contribution lies in its practical aspects and its quoting of empirical results. While the theoretical aspects are not completely brought in, this can be condoned on the basis that the author is a practical penologist. He leaves it to the academic psychologists, physiologists, and other scientific groups to further explore the possibilities of the lie detector technique through experimental research. It is to be hoped that they will not be found lacking.

Samuel B. Kutash,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

Mental Illness: A Guide for the Family.

EDITH M. STERN. The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1942. pp. 134. Price \$1.00.

A distinguished Spanish physician of the Middle Ages once wrote a book "A Guide for the Perplexed" in which many of the discoveries and comforts of modern psychology found elegant philosophic expression. While this little treatise before us holds to no such comparison, it does convey in the same lucid, direct language much that modern science can offer by way of comfort to bewildered souls.

It seeks to translate the accepted atmosphere of the more progressive mental hospital, its air of quiet reassurance and sympathetic understanding, of impersonal discipline and successful optimism, into the informative language of the magazine page, and so into the lives of perturbed relatives and despairing friends of the mentally deranged. There is a strong sense of personal involvement in those surrounding the sick, so that a reassuring statement of this aider as to what mental illness really means and the effectives at our disposal towards its relief must go far to eradicate prejudice, to calm ruffled susceptibilities and remove a whole load of guilt and anxiety from those on the sunnier side of the fence. It makes no attempt to delineate any morbid characteristics in detail, yet gives sufficient glimpse of the distresses experienced by

the patient and the satisfaction to be gained by timely therapy, to make all who are called upon to advise a course of isolation, to do so with less qualms and apprehension. The system and its safeguards, its limitations and possibilities, are honestly presented. If we have any criticism to make, it is simply this: in its efforts to be informative and reassuring at all costs, this work has made no attempt at critical appraisal of the methods in vogue, and does retain something of the self-righteousness and smug complacency that informs the system, as though the asylum world were the best of all possible worlds. To popularize its function in the minds of the more prejudiced and distraught may be well justified, but the hopes of any future salvaging of such appalling mental wastage may have to be pinned on quite other philosophies in the civilized world of tomorrow, and in this the eugenics of Mental Hygiene will almost certainly have something to say.

P. L. Goitein,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

The Subnormal Adolescent Girl. THEODORA M. ABEL AND ELAINE F. KINDER.
New York. Columbia University Press.
XIII & 215 pp., 1942. \$2.50.

The Subnormal Adolescent Girl considers the girls in this group from the ages of fourteen to nineteen. The objectives of the book are to present the various problems these girls face in the home and school, during recreation, and at work. The book is planned for workers in mental and social hygiene who come into contact with girls of this type. The materials for the book were gathered from years of experience in dealing with subnormal girls in the community, institutions, psychological clinics, factories, and their own homes.

The book presents pertinent data on the attempts at adjustment by the adolescent subnormal girl in all of the ramifications and vicissitudes of normal life. Some of these girls have made good adjustment

while others have been committed to institutions. In the main, the points of view of the subjects are presented. However, technical aspects of mental retardation are treated and the community's responsibilities in the problem are limned.

The chapter titles indicate the scope of treatment: The Subnormal Adolescent Girl, Within Her Home, At School, In Industry, In an Institution, The Seriously Maladjusted Girl, The Community's Problem, and Origins and Control.

This book will prove valuable to those working with subnormal adolescent girls either as teachers, social workers, psychiatrists, psychologists, or employers. Techniques of handling cases are emphasized to assist persons unfamiliar with the problems presented by aments. Altogether this is one of the most satisfying books on subnormality to appear in semi-popular language in the last decade.

Chester D. Owens,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

The March of Medicine. Number IV of the New York Academy of Medicine Lectures to the Laity. Columbia University Press, 1940. VII pp 168.

As part of its educational program, the New York Academy of Medicine, through its Committee on Lectures to the Laity, has been sponsoring a series of lectures for the lay public since 1935. These popular lectures cover interesting phases of medical history, and the present small volume, number IV in the series, comprises six lectures for the period 1938 and 1939. A preface by Dr. Malcolm Goodridge, president of the New York Academy of Medicine, gives the key to the series of lectures as a whole. "Our aim in presenting these lectures has been to give the layman a clearly delineated picture of the stepping stones we trod, from the days of the art and romance of medicine, in order that we might reach our present state of more nearly precise scientific reality. Our thesis has been that without the intelligent cooperation of the lay public, the

full application of the advance in medical science will never be possible."

In lecture number I "From Folkways to Modern Medicine" Dr. Walter C. Alvarez emphasizes the link between the modern art of healing and the old magic rites, creeds and superstitions. Though great achievement and much progress has been made emergence of modern medicine from ancient folkways is not complete. Cult medicine, faith healing, and quackery are still with us. An earnest plea for freedom of scientific research is voiced.

"Health in Elizabethian England" by Sanford V. Larkey M. D., gives an enlightening view of health conditions at the time. Their views on personal hygiene, their theories of disease, their effort to combat disease and epidemics and measures taken by the state to improve health conditions are ably presented. Medical practices of the time were clearly influenced by economic, intellectual and political factors.

"Not So Long Ago" by Dr. Cecil K. Drinker comprises excerpts from a diary kept by Elizabeth Drinker, a great, great grandmother of the author and covers a period of fifty years, from 1758 to 1807. Interspersed with elucidating comments by the author himself, it furnishes a clear description of the status of medical knowledge during Colonial times (Colonial Philadelphia).

The "Romance of Modern Surgery" by Dr. Charles Gordon Heyd makes fascinating reading. The author presents an excellent and succinct review of the development of modern surgery and the story of its evolution from the days of the barber surgeon. To lift the surgical art to its modern scientific status of: (1) control of hemorrhage, (2) alleviation of pain, and (3) prevention of infection, required the genius and personal influence of many great men. Ambrose Paré, John Hunter, Lord Lister, Morton and Long are but a few of the personalities vividly sketched in Dr. Heyd's narrative.

In "The Story of Insanity" Dr. R. G. Haskins traces man's beliefs and practices regarding insanity in primitive cultures, Greek and Roman periods, Middle Ages and modern times. The seeds to modern reform in mental hospitals sown by Pinel in France, Tuke in England and Dorothea

Lynde Dix in this country have borne fruit.

In "The Cinderella of Medicine" Dr. Karl A. Menninger deals with the prospects of future achievement in Psychiatry, the emergence of the kind of physician for whom physical, chemical and psychological data will have equal validity.

Throughout the volume emphasis is placed on the historical factors in the evolution of modern medicine. Much of the material presented could only be compiled from a very extensive range of reading, and the information is presented in a wholly satisfactory manner making this volume well worth while not only to the lay reader but to the physician as well.

J. Rubin, M. D.,
Woodbourne, N. Y.

Handwriting Analysis. A Series of Scales for Evaluating the Dynamic Aspects of Handwriting. THEA STEIN LEWINSON and JOSEPH ZUBIN. Dept. of Psychology, New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital. King's Crown Press, A Division of Columbia University Press, New York.

In this country, in contrast to many European countries, a distinct line seems to separate the handwriting expert from the graphologist. The work of the handwriting expert, which is mostly laboratory work, is considered more scientific than that of the graphologist who is more or less looked upon as a person whose results are based upon intuition and a knowledge of methods which are not taken too seriously. The little book written by Thea Stein Lewinson and Dr. Joseph Zubin, research psychologist at the Psychiatric Institute, combines the former writer's thorough knowledge of the various scientific European graphological systems with the latter's experience in American Psychology. They try for the first time to collect certain fixed data on basic features of handwriting using them to prepare formulas and graphs in order to pro-

vide reliable methods of testing personality.

The scepticism of American scientists was founded on the fact that many European graphologists have used rhythmic qualities as a base for the evaluation of personality. As rhythm represents a quality which can only be estimated subjectively, Graphology seemed inconsistent with real science which required exact measurements. The authors of this book have tried to replace the rather vague determination of "Rhythm" by a measurable scale ranging from extreme concentration to extreme release. This scale allows the extermination of such qualities as form, contour, height, width, and slant of letters, reducing those qualities to a common denominator,

thus allowing an objective rating. Divergences from the normal can be used to determine nervous disturbances. Handwritings of a paranoid schizophrenic before and after the onset of the disease, are shown and analyzed, as well as the handwriting of a manic depressive, an obsessive neurotic and a normal handwriting.

This book may introduce an new era of Graphology which is struggling for its acknowledgment as a science in America. In criminal cases in which the defendant's mental condition is uncertain this new system can be of considerable help in addition to the psychiatrist's findings.

Rudolph S. Hearn.

New York City.

Announcement

The Medical Correctional Association, an affiliate of the American Prison Association, is interested in establishing contact with all professional personnel who are especially concerned with, or interested in, the medical aspects of crime. The membership in this Association is confined to the following groups:

1. Physicians employed in penal and correctional institutions or jails.
2. Physicians, Social Welfare Workers, and special workers engaged in research work in connection with:
(a) Institutions or hospitals for the mentally ill, (b) Mentally defective individuals, (c) Juvenile delinquents, (d) Defective delinquents, (e) Out-patient or behavior clinics dealing with any aspect of crime or its prevention, (f) Criminal Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts, (g) Parole, (h) Probation, (i) Public and Private Schools, Colleges and Universities, (j) Federal, State, County and Municipal Public Health Organizations.
4. Any person who, though not automatically falling in any one of the three above mentioned groups, presents satisfactory evidence that he or she is engaged in research or an occupation in which the medical aspects of crime are acknowledged as important features.

Annual dues of the Association are one dollar and its payment entitles the member to vote in elections, to present papers at the open meeting of the Association, to receive copies of the minutes, by-laws, as well as Abstracts of papers which were presented at the last meeting.

The present officers of the Medical Correctional Association are:

President: Dr. J. D. Reichard, U.S.P.H.S. Hospital, Lexington, Kentucky.

1st Vice Pres.: Dr. John W. Cronin, Federal Reformatory, El Reno, Oklahoma.

2nd Vice Pres.: Dr. Lawrence Kolb, Ass't Surgeon General, Dept. Mental Hygiene, Washington, D. C.

Secretary-Treas.: Dr. Robert M. Lindner, Federal Penitentiary Hospital, Lewisburg, Penna.

